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R O B I N's

PANEGYRICK.

OR, THE

N O R F O L K

MISCELLANY.

Vendit hic Auro Patriam—



L O N D O N:

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R O B I N S

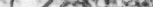
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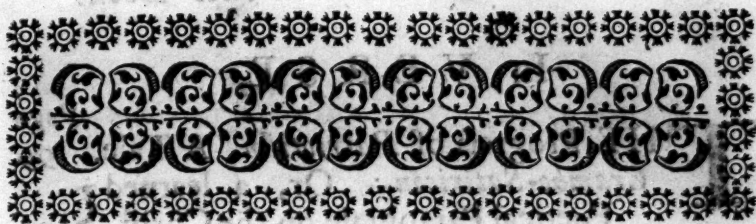
И О Р Я О Л К

MISCELLANY.

Vorname des Abwesenden

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T H E
OCCASIONAL WRITER.

Inscribed to the Person to whom alone it
can belong.

— *fidens animi, atque in utrumque paratus.*
Virg.

MOST NOBLE SIR,

I AM one whose Ambition it hath been, ever since I came into the World, to distinguish myself as a Writer; in which, I fairly confess, I had not only the View of raising my Reputation, but that of establishing my Fortune: A Prospect which seem'd very reasonable in a Time of general Peace, and universal Affluence; in an Age so particularly polite, that it is even the Fashion to appear knowing in all the elegant Arts and Sciences; and that to whatever Branch of them a Genius shall think fit to turn himself, he is sure it will be to one that is in Vogue.

The first Essays of my Pen made a good deal of Noise in the World; they fill'd foreign Journals, and were translated into several Languages. The *Sorbonne*, and both our Mother Universities, return'd me Thanks for having reconciled several Disputes, and solved several Difficulties in Chronology and History, which had perplexed the learned World, from the impartial *Eusebius*, down to the circumstantial *Prideaux*. My Philosophical Poems were received with the greatest Applause; and it is well known, that if the gay Part of the World read my *Anti-Lucretius* for Amusement,

the gravest Divines have not disdained to borrow Arguments from it in their Disputes with the Materialists.

Animated by such Success in one Part of my Aim, I proceeded with indefatigable Labour, till continual Disappointments in the other, render'd me at length more indifferent to that imaginary Good, Applause, and less patient of that real Evil, Want. I began then to compare my Condition with that of several great Authors, both ancient and modern; and finding upon the Comparison, that they had not been better treated than myself, I was soon led by my Reflections, to discover the true Reason of our ill Fortune in the World; I was soon convinced, that they and I had been on a wrong Pursuit; that Ministers of State pay no Regard to the brightest Talents, when they are misapplied, and esteem all Talents to be so, which are not wholly employed about the present Time, and principally dedicated to the Service of their Administration; neither can I say this Proceeding is unjust, how much soever I suffer by it.

If we write for Posterity, we must not complain, that the Care of rewarding our Merit is left to Posterity; and if we neglect to serve the State, those who are appointed to preside over it, break no Rule of Equity, when they neglect us. *Spenser* has been amply recompensed by Posterity for his *Fairy Queen*, but the wise Treasurer, *Burleigh*, declined the Payment of an Hundred Pounds, which Queen *Elizabeth* ordered him, and left this admirable Poet to starve. Had *Spenser* applied himself to more serious Studies, had he excelled in Physicks, in Metaphysicks, or even in the first Philosophy, or in Theology, instead of excelling in Wit and Poetry, the *Amabiles Insaniae* of *Horace*, his Usage would have been the same no doubt. Even the greatest Productions of these Studies, are but Trifles in the Account of a consummate Statesman, and may properly enough be distinguished from the others in his Sense, by the Title of *Insaniae severiores*.

Our *English* Ministers, to their Honour be it spoken, have at all times proceeded upon this admirable Principle; the most excellent Sermons, the most elaborate Treatises, have not been sufficient to procure the Advancement of some Divines, whilst a sorry Pamphlet, or a Spiritual Libel, has raised others to the highest Dignities of the Church. As it has far'd with meer
Divinity,

Divinity, so has it far'd with meer Eloquence; as one never caused the Divine, so the other never caused the Lawyer to be distinguish'd: But we know that if either of them be employed in a Court Cause, he never fails of making his Fortune. The same Fate has attended Writers of another kind; the celebrated *Tatlers* and *Spectators* had no Reward except from Booksellers and Fame: But when those Authors made the Discovery I have made, and applied their Talents better, in writing the *Englisman* and the *Freeholder*, one was soon created a *Knight*, and the other became *Secretary of State*. In short, without enumerating any more Instances, I may confidently affirm, that this has been the Case from the Days of *Burleigh* to this time; how much sooner it began to be so, I hope, Sir, you will not give me the Leisure to enquire.

From the Moment I resolv'd to become a State-Writer, I mentally devoted myself to your Service, and I do it now in this publick and most solemn Manner. Employ me, Sir, as you please, I abandon myself intirely to you, my Pen is at your Disposition, and my Conscience in your Keeping. Like a Lawyer, I am ready to support the Cause, in which, give me Leave to suppose, that I shall be soon retain'd with Ardour; and (if Occasion be) with Subtilty and Acrimony: Like a *Swiss*, I will behave myself with equal Boldness and Fidelity; my Pen is my Fortune, and I think it as honourable to offer it, as to offer my Sword, without enquiring in a general Battle, or in private Skirmishes, at what Relation or Friend I strike. I cancel at once all former Obligations and Friendships, and will most implicitly follow your Instructions in Panegyrick on your self and Friends, in Satire on your Adversaries, in writing for or against any Subject; nay, in writing for or against the same Subject, just as your Interest, or even your Passions may render it expedient.

I am not ignorant, that when *Carneades* offered to argue for Virtue, and then against it, *Cato* propos'd to drive that great Philosopher and Orator out of *Rome*: But *Cato* was a Man of narrow Principles, and of too confin'd an Understanding; he considered Virtue abstractedly, without any Regard to Time, to Place, and that vast Variety of Conjunctions which happens in the Course of human Affairs. In common Life, Mo-

rality is, no doubt, necessary, and therefore Legislators have been careful to enforce the Practice of it: But whenever Morality clashes with the Interest of the State, it must be, and it always has been laid aside. These are my Opinions, and it is a great Comfort to my Conscience, to find them confirmed by the Practice of some Reverend Persons, whose Examples ought to be of greater Weight with me, than that of a wretched *Pagan*. I shall therefore shew myself neither squeamish nor whimsical, in pursuing the Enterprize to which I offer my Services, but shall remain firmly persuaded, that all the Moral Vices I may be occasionally guilty of in so good a Cause, will be exalted into Politick Virtues.

After this plain and honest Account which I have given of my self, it may be allowed me to say, that you cannot find a Person better qualified for your Service, or more worthy to be listed among those who draw their Pens in your Cause, and of whom I am willing to hope that you have a greater and an abler Body in Reserve, than you have hitherto judged proper to bring into the Field.

It is evident, that a Minister in every Circumstance of Life, stands in as much Need of us publick Writers, as we do of him. In his Prosperity he can no more subsist without daily Praise, than we without daily Bread; and the further he extends his Views, the more necessary are we to his Support. Let him speak as contemptuously of us as he pleases (for that is frequently the manner of those who employ us most and pay us best) yet will it fare with his Ambition as with a lofty Tree, which cannot shoot its Branches into the Clouds, unless its Root work into the Dirt from which it rose, on which it stands, and by which it is nourished.

If a Minister falls into Adversity, shall he take up the Pen in his own Defence? would not the Case be as deplorable for him to be left to write, as for a Prince to be left to fight in his own Quarrel? Believe me, Sir, whenever Fortune abandons you, and who knows how soon that may happen? you will find yourself in a very forlorn State. At the Name of your Successor, those Crowds that attend your Levee, will vanish like Spirits at the Dawn of Day; none will remain about you, but such as no other Administration will condescend to employ; and we may therefore very probably

bably behold you, which would be a pitiful Sight indeed, endeavouring to secure a Retreat, with *H*—— on one Side of you, and *L*—— on the other, two Grotesque Personages, exactly paired, and nearly allied, but surely as little fit to support a Minister in his Decline, as to adorn his Triumph. In such a Turn as this, you may depend on my utmost Efforts to keep up a Spirit for you, and I can make no doubt of being seconded by several of my Fellow-writers, since I am certain you will not scruple to share some Part of that Fortune which your Industry and Parsimony have raised, with those who unite to save the Whole; and since we shall be reasonable enough, not to expect above Six-pence in the Pound out of it, which cannot well amount to more than Fifteen or Twenty Thousand Pounds: A trifling Sum! for so great a Service, and so weighty a Purse.

You may perhaps, after all I have said, be apt to think that these are wild Discourses, which have no other Foundation, but my Desire to render myself necessary. You may refine too much in your Reflections on my Conduct, and too little in those you make on your present Situation; or, if you judge rightly of this, it is not impossible but you may depend too much on your own Vigilance and Dexterity. Should any of those Flatterers, who often betray their Patrons into a fatal Security, speak to you much in the same manner as Sleep addresses himself to *Palinurus* in the *Æneid*, Book V.

—*Palinure; serunt ipsa equora classem,
Æquata spirant aure, datur hora quieti;
Pone caput, fessosque oculos furare labori.*

You would answer, I am persuaded, as this Pilot did.

*Mene salis placidi vultum, fluctusque quietos
Ignorare jubes? mene huic confidere monstro?*

But *Palinurus* slept, and you know the Consequence.

Be not therefore displeased, if a sincere and zealous Servant rouses you, admonishes you not to trust too much to Appearances, and shews you Danger when perhaps you least expect it. You have sailed long in a smooth Sea, with gentle and favourable Gales: We believe your Courage and your Abilities extremely great, but we believe it implicitly; for you have not

had foul Weather enough to give any considerable Proofs of either. These Circumstances which might be abused to inspire Security, I urge as Reasons why you should be alarmed, for the Element you have to deal with, is, by the Laws of Nature inconstant; and therefore, the longer you have been without a Storm, the more Reason you have to expect one. There is no surer Presage of an Hurricane, than just such a dead Calm as I have observed for some Time.

To speak without a Figure: I would not have you flatter yourself, that the undisturbed Quiet you have so long enjoy'd, is merely owing to your own Integrity, and political Merit, or to the uncommon Prosecutions of Hawkers and Pamphleteers, which has been carried on by the Direction of one of your principal Instruments, and indeed a most vigorous Statesman. This Quiet, Sir, is owing to deep and inveterate Designs, which it becomes me to lay before you, without any Regard to the Censure I may incur, of revealing private Conversation, and of Breach of Trust. Know you then, that from the Time you came into a Fulness of Power, many were shock'd at the manner in which you seized it, and at the Use you made of it. They said, that both were hurtful, indecent, and even shameless. They went still further, and affirmed, that your Conduct was foolish with Regard to your own Interest; since it was foolish for a Man to trust to one single Expedient of Government, who had several in his Power; and especially to such an Expedient as that of Money, which would equally serve to support him, or to hang him. These Persons however, notwithstanding their Discontent, resolved to lie quiet, till your Male-Administration should become so glaring, as to justify their Opposition, even in his Majesty's Sight. They said, they would not follow your Example, and, upon that Occasion, they remember'd with some Sharpness, how you did your utmost to distress the King's Affairs, upon the first Disgust you received; nay, were malicious enough, to call to Mind some personal Reflections, which the Heat of your Imagination, and your Familiarity with Majesty betray'd you into, and for which they fancily wished what I dare not name. These seditious Spirits flattered themselves, that you would do your own Business, when you had the full Swing of your

your Power. They were acquainted, they said, with the Presumption and Distrust, with the Boldness and Pusillanimity, with the Indiscretion and Cunning, and with fifty other Contradictions which made up your Character; and upon these they depended for putting a speedy End to your Administration. This End they imagine to be now at Hand; for thus they reason. A Minister who is attack'd on his Management of the publick Revenue, and has all the Advantages of Money and Authority on his Side, may escape tho' he is guilty; but if he is innocent, the Proceedings against him in such a Case must necessarily confirm his Power, and establish his Reputation, and nothing more desirable than such an Attack can happen to him. But our present Minister, say these Maligants, directly stops all Enquiry; in Publick he evades giving such Accounts as the Representatives of the People have a Right to demand; in private he is modest and discreet enough to laugh at those, who think him such a Fool, as to furnish Proofs against himself. Can a Minister keep his Ground long, who has no other Defence, than an implied Confession of his Guilt? Will such a Behaviour be endured in a Nation hitherto Free, and where there remain, at least some Sparks of Honour, and Love of the Country?

These, and many other Reflections, which for Brevity's sake, I omit, upon your particular Conduct, and upon our domestick Affairs, are frequently thrown out: But, Sir, I confess to you, that I tremble when I hear the same Persons discourse concerning the State of the Nation, with regard to her foreign Interests: They affirm, and they offer to demonstrate, that the Affairs of *Europe* were never in greater Confusion, and that the part we take upon ourselves is such a one, as no Nation ever acted, which was not betray'd, or whose Ministers were not infatuated. That you are so, they say is past Dispute, whether you have conducted these Affairs yourself, or have left them to those Men of eminent Talents who are concerned in this Part of your Administration. They insist, that nothing could have happened to us, if you had intirely neglected our foreign Interests, worse than what have been brought upon us, by running into the other Extreme: For they ask, what is the Fruit of your continual Negotiations,

supported by a vast Expence, and carried on as busily as if the Welfare of *Great Britain* had been at Stake in every Dispute which has happened on the Continent? They answer for you, and they defy you to contradict them, that we have made the Quarrels of other People our own, and that we find our selves engaged as Principals, in some Cases, where we have but a very remote Concern, and in others where we have no Concern at all: That our Commerce suffers, and runs the Risque of being lost, not for a Time, but for ever, in several Branches much more beneficial to us than the *Ostend Trade*; and that our Right to keep those important Possessions, which were yielded to us in the most solemn and authentick manner, is come, by Dint of Negotiation, from being indisputable, to be called in Question. In a Word, that to restore the publick Tranquillity, and to settle our own Interests, we must engage in a new War, and conclude a new Peace: That you have contrived to make it impossible for us to do one, without fighting against the very Principle for which we have fought ever since the Revolution; or to attempt the other, without lying under this particular Circumstance, That your principal Allies will be as much in earnest as our Enemies, to wrest out of our Hands the chief Advantages which we obtained by the Treaty of *Utrecht*. At the Time when these Treaties were made, continue they, your *Great Minister* cried aloud, and spared not: He complained as much as any Man, that the exorbitant Power of *France* was not sufficiently reduced, and that the Barriers of our Allies on the *Rhine*, and in the *Netherlands*, were left too weak; and is it under his Administration, that we are to see a Pretence given to the *French*, and an Opportunity thrown into their Hands, of strengthening their Power, and of extending their Barriers? When I tell these Objectors, that your B—— answers for the Court of *France*, they laugh in my Face, and reply, *Well be may, and so might any of those who were in the French Interest, have done at the Time when the Triple Alliance was broken, and France was encouraged by England to fall upon the Dutch.* The Ministers who are answer'd for, would be as weak as he who answers for them, if they did not see their Advantage in the present Juncture, and did not take a secret malicious Plea-

Pleasure in making us, who contributed so much to reduce their Power, become the Instruments of raising it again. In the Case of a War, then we have, according to this Reasoning (which really, Sir, has an Air of Truth) nothing so much to fear, as the Assistance of our chief Ally; and in the Case of a Treaty, not only *France*, but *Holland* likewise must be against us in that important Article of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, and in all particular Advantages of Commerce which we have enjoy'd, and may find it reasonable to pretend to. The late Duke of *Orleans*, as dear a Friend as he was to us, insisted strenuously, that we should give up the Places beforementioned, pretending a Promise to this Effect, and himself obliged in Honour to see this Promise kept. Every one who knows any thing of the Transactions of those Times, knows with how envious an Eye the *Dutch* beheld the separate Privileges in Trade, and the sole Possession of *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*, which we obtain'd at the last Peace, and what Lengths they would have gone to facilitate the Negotiations, which at that Time they opposed, if they might have been admitted to a Share in these Advantages.

The Danger of an immediate Invasion, and the Engagements enter'd into by the *Emperor* and the *King of Spain* to insult us with their Fleets, and to conquer *Great Britain* and *Ireland* for the Pretender, have been very industriously propagated by those who are already in your Pay, and by me who stand a Candidate for this Honour, but am hitherto a Voluntier in your Service. I am sorry to tell you, Sir, but Heaven forbid that I should conceal so material a Circumstance from your Knowledge; we do not succeed. We raise a Spirit, but this Spirit turns against you. There are more People than ever, against the Pretender, and Zeal for supporting the present Establishment never ran higher: But this Zeal is not any longer without Knowledge, it is directed to its proper Object, and there is no Possibility of leading it hoodwinked to serve any other Purposes. Some incredulous Wretches there are, who smile when we talk to them of Invasions and the Pretender, and who content themselves to reply, that the Machine is very seasonably introduced, and according to the Rules of Art. The greater Number take Fire, and lay this new Distress, which we threaten
them

them with at your Door; for they say, that we dis-
 obliged *Spain* some Years ago, to tye the *Emperor* the
 more firmly to us, and that we have since that time dis-
 obliged the *Emperor*, by affecting a closer Correspon-
 dence, and greater Union of Counsels with *France*,
 than ever was known between the two Nations. They
 send us to that excellent Treatise, *The Barrier Treaty*
Vindicated, to learn our true and lasting Interest in
 Foreign Alliances, and there they pretend that we shall
 find the Condemnation of all your Measures; they la-
 ment the miserable Scene which they apprehend may
 soon be opened, his Majesty's foreign Dominions ex-
 posed to all the Calamities of War, and perhaps in
 Danger of being lost; we ourselves struggling against
 Domestick Enemies, and defending our Coasts against
 Invasions; these Mischiefs brought upon us by a Con-
 junction of the *Emperor* our old Ally, with the King
 of *Spain* his Rival; a Conjunction so unnatural! that
 nothing but the highest Resentment at our Behaviour
 to them both could have brought it about. In short,
 to finish up the Picture, *Great Britain* reduced in this
 Distress to lean solely upon *France*, and the Faith of
 that Court to become our chief Security.

Upon the whole Matter, your Enemies, Sir, the
 Substance of whose private Conversation I have now
 honestly reported to you, conclude very insolently,
 that you have filled up the Measure of your Iniquity
 and your Folly, and that you must sink, or the Nation
 must sink under the Weight of that Calamity, which
 you have brought, or suffer'd to be brought upon her.

As shocking as this Account must be to your Ears,
 I promise myself, that the Sincerity and Plainness with
 which I have given it, will be agreeable to you; and
 that you will receive into your Bosom a Man whose
 Affection for your Person, and Zeal for your Service,
 must be above all Suspicion, after giving you Intelli-
 gence of so high a Nature, without any Stipulation for
 the Discovery.

I expect to hear from you in eight Days from the Date
 hereof; if I do not, you shall hear again from him who is,

Most Noble SIR,

Your Honour's Most Devoted Servant,

THE OCCASIONAL WRITER.

A L E T.



*A LETTER from the Count de Sinzendorf,
Chancellor of the Court to his Imperial and
Catholick Majesty, sent to Mons. de Palm, the
Emperor's Resident at the Court of Great-
Britain, dated from Vienna the 20th of
Feb. 1727.*

HIS Imperial and Catholick Majesty judges it
indispensably necessary, upon the Step which
has been lately taken in the Country where you
are, to send you in the Dispatch here annex'd, a Me-
morial which you are to present to the King of *Great
Britain*, and to publish afterwards, that the whole Na-
tion may be acquainted with it, whilst Answers are
preparing to certain Pamphlets published before the
Opening of the Parliament.

It is easy to see that the Speech was made for no
Purpose but to excite the Nation to a Rupture, and
open War with the Emperor and *Spain*, and to make
the Parliament approve the precipitate and burthensome
Measures which the Government has taken for private
Ends, but too well known: That not only unwarranta-
ble Inferences and Pretences have been made use of,
but that manifest Falshoods have been boldly advanced
for indisputable Facts, a Proceeding never seen before
among Powers who ought to respect each other, when
in the most flagrant Wars; from whence it ought to be
presum'd, that the King, whose sacred Mouth ought
to be an Oracle of Truth, must have been himself
abused by the Suggestions and false Reports of those,
who have the Honour to possess his Confidence, and
who think it their Interest to inflame, by these Means,
both the Prince and the Nation, for their own private
Views and personal Preservation, without any Regard
to the Honour of the Majesty of the Throne, or to
the Evils which may result from hence to their own
Country, and to all *Europe*.

For these Purposes they establish a Foundation, and
lay down as a *Certain Fact*, that there is a *Positive
Article*

Article in the Treaty of Alliance between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, to place the Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*, and to invade that Kingdom with open Force; and this they do, a few Days after the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Catholick King had, before his Departure from *London*, in a Memorial presented in the sacred Name of his Master publickly, and in the most authentick Manner disavowed these Imputations, which sufficiently prove the Emperor's Disavowal of the same, since the pretended Article was equally imputed to the two Powers, and one of them could not have stipulated any thing in the same Treaty without the other. Besides which, it is to be considered, that six Months ago, upon the first Reports of these false Suppositions, the Emperor and King of *Spain* in order to silence them, proposed a formal Act, *de non offendendo*, into which all the Allies on one Side and the other might enter, and which would effectually have secured the peaceable Possessions of each of the Powers contracting, either in the Treaty of *Vienna*, or that of *Hanover*, till such Time as it had been possible by one general Treaty to remove and quiet the Complaints of all Sides: But these Proposals were rendered ineffectual, by the same Views of those Persons, who chose rather to hinder the peaceable Effects of these just Designs, by Attacks and open Hostilities.

It is further known, and it is even notorious by the Solemn Communication made to the King of *Great Britain* of the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Vienna* between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, that the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, made at *London* the 2d of *August* 1718, has been laid down as the unalterable Basis of their Peace, and that all the Articles of this Quadruple Alliance are therein confirmed and corroborated, as if they had been inserted anew: How then can it be suppos'd, and even given out as a Matter of Fact, that by another secret Treaty signed on the same Day, Conditions have been establish'd, and Engagements taken entirely repugnant to the same?

Such a Thing cannot be advanced without insulting and injuring in the most outrageous Manner the Majesty of the Two Contracting Powers, who have a Right to demand a signal Reparation and Satisfaction proportioned to the Enormity of the Affront, which
equally

equally interests their Honour, and that Faith which ought always to be respected among Sovereign Princes.

But if those who endeavour to avail themselves of such feign'd Recriminations, and to excuse themselves from the Blame which their rash and turbulent Measures deserve, imagine that this unjustifiable Conduct may at last oblige the Emperor and King of *Spain* to repel Force by Force, and to defend themselves by all those Means which God has put into their Hands, from the Mischiefs with which they are threatned, and from the Insults and Attacks which have been actually made use of against them, so far that it has been even attempted to engage the *Ottoman Porte* in these unparallel'd Designs; at least, ought they not to publish as antecedent Facts those which they have Reason to apprehend may be the Consequence of a War, into which they have forced these two Powers to enter in their own just Defence?

The Emperor and King of *Spain* hope however from the Divine Goodness, and from the Wisdom of Persons less prejudiced and less passionate, that more mature and serious Reflections will be made, in order to restore amicably the Publick Tranquillity, and to save all *Europe* from the Misfortunes of a War, stirred up by Motives so trifling and groundless, which can tend to nothing, but the Destruction of the Subject, of his Estate, and of his Commerce.

Their Majesties, the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, ardently desire the Blessing of Peace, and to observe their Treaties with all their Allies, with the strictest Fidelity: But as a mutual Contract can subsist no longer on one Side, than while it remains unbroken on the other, the evil Consequences of a Rupture, if that should happen, ought to be imputed to those alone who have been the Authors of those Infractions.

I have the Emperor's express Order to write this to you in his Name, that you may be able to destroy the Falshoods and Calumnies which have been charged on the High Contracting Parties of the Treaty of *Vienna*, who have no other View than that of making Peace between themselves, without hurting any one else.

I am, &c.

TRANSLA-



*TRANSLATION of the MEMORIAL
presented in Latin to the King of Great-Britain,
by Mons. de Palm, the Imperial Resident,
upon the Speech which his Britannick Majesty
made to the two Houses of his Parliament on
the 17 of Jan. 17²⁶
28 27.*

Most Serene and Potent King,

AS soon as the Speech made by your Majesty to the Parliament of *Great-Britain* now assembled, came to the knowledge of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, my most Gracious Master; he was struck with the utmost Astonishment, that your Majesty could suffer yourself to be prevailed upon to declare from the Royal Throne, to that most renowned Nation, in a Manner hitherto unheard of, as certain and undoubted Facts, several things, some of which are strained in that Speech to a wrong Sense, some are intirely distant from the Intentions of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, and lastly (which affect much more sensibly than all the rest) some Things absolutely void of all Foundation.

For as to what regards the Peace concluded at *Vienna* with the most Serene King of *Spain*, who can forbear being astonished, that this very Peace which is built on the Quadruple Alliance sign'd at *London*, and other Treaties contracted with your Majesty, as its solid and sole Foundation, and for the obtaining of which Peace your Majesty, together with your Allies, waged so bloody, so long and so glorious a War, and took yourself so much Pains to procure, should now be alleged by your Majesty as a just Ground of Complaint, and should be made use of as a Pretence for these Things, which hitherto your Ministers have been doing in all Parts, to the great Detriment of the Emperor and the Empire, and the publick Tranquillity, and should be represented by your Majesty to the *British* Nation, with so much Animosity against the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, as a Violation of Treaties.

After

After complaining of the Peace made at *Vienna*, Complaint is likewise made of the Treaty of Commerce entered into with *Spain*, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful Advantages of the Subjects of both Parties, which is agreeable to the Law of Nations, and to the Customs of all People in Amity with each other; which can in no Respect be of any Prejudice to the *British* Nation, whether we regard the Situation of the Countries, or the particular Nature of the Trade, and which is not in the least repugnant to the Treaties made with *Great-Britain*. So that if this Treaty be considered with a Mind free from Prejudice, and from all Designs of inflaming the Nation, there will remain no Pretence to say, that this Treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a Nation for which His Imperial Majesty has the greatest Affection and Esteem, and whose Glorious Exploits and Important Succours no Time will efface out of his Memory.

The other Head of Complaint, which contains such Things as are void of all Foundation, relates principally to that imaginary Alliance which in the Speech is call'd *Offensive*, and is there supposed to have been made against your Majesty, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*. But it will not only appear how groundless and frivolous this Supposition is, from the Offer lately made by his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, of entering into a Convention *De se mutuo non Offendendo*, but will be entirely refuted by the Consideration of the Tenor of the *Treaty of Alliance and Friendship* itself made with the Crown of *Spain*, and communicated in its whole Extent to your Majesty when it was proper; from the Words of which, whether the least Shadow or Appearance of an Offensive Alliance can be drawn, is submitted to the Judgment of the whole World.

Another Part of the Complaint relates to the *Secret Articles made in favour of the Pretender*, whereof your Majesty asserts, that you have certain and undoubted Informations, by which Articles it should have been agreed to set the Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*. With what View, on what Motive, and to what Purpose these Informations founded on the falsest Reports were represented to the People of *Great Britain*, is not only easy to be understood by his Imperial and Catholick

Catholick Majesty, but is obvious to the meanest Capacity. But since the inviolable Dignity and Honour of such Great Princes cannot suffer, that Assertions of this Nature, intirely unsupported by Truth, should be advanced from the Royal Throne to the whole Nation, and to all Mankind; His Sacred Imperial and Catholick Majesty has expressly commanded me, that I should declare to your Majesty and to the whole Kingdom of *Great Britain*, how highly he thinks himself affronted thereby, solemnly affirming upon his Imperial Word, that there exists no secret Article nor Convention whatsoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the least Tittle of what has been alledged.

But that the secret Designs which lye concealed under a Conduct till this time unheard of, may more manifestly appear, it must be observed, that the time is purposely taken for doing this, when a Negotiation is on Foot at *Paris*, for composing the Differences which have arisen without any Fault of his Imperial and Catholick Majesty; which Negotiation sufficiently shews how much his Imperial Majesty is at all times inclined to Peace, and to the religious Observation of his Treaties.

As to what is said of *Gibraltar*, and concerning the Siege thereof, under which in the Speech it is insinuated, as if some other Design was concealed, the Hostilities notoriously committed in the *Indies* and elsewhere, against the King of *Spain*, in Violation of Treaties, seem to have given a very just Occasion to the King of *Spain*, for attempting that Siege. But as to the Intentions and Engagements of the Emperor upon that Article, it is easy to see what they are, by the Treaty above-mentioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is said in the last Place, concerning the *Ostend* Trade, which the Goodness of the Catholick King induced him to favour (being bound by no Treaty) after he had been apprised of the just Reasons for the Establishment of it, various Expedients for a Composition have been proposed, not only at the *Hague*, but even lately at *Paris*, lest this harmless Method of providing for the Security of the Barrier should prove an Obstacle to the common Friendship of neighbouring Powers.

Which

Which things being thus, the Injury offer'd to Truth, the Honour and Dignity of his Sacred Imperial and Catholick Majesty require, that they should be exposed to your Majesty, to the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, and to the whole World. And his Sacred Imperial Majesty demands that Reparation which is due to him by all manner of Right, for the great Injuries which have been done him by these many Imputations.

The LORDS PROTESTS.

Die Martis 24^{to} Januarii, 1726.

THE Lord *Delawarr* reported from the Committee of the whole House appointed to take his Majesty's most Gracious Speech into Consideration, That the said Committee had accordingly taken the same into Consideration, together with the Memorials and other Papers referred to their Lordships, and were come to the following Resolution, viz.

That it fully appears to this Committee, upon Consideration of his Majesty's Speech, and the Letters and Memorials laid before the House by his Majesty's Order, That the Measures his Majesty has thought fit to take, were Honourable, Just, and Necessary, for preventing the Execution of the dangerous Engagements entered into in favour of the Pretender, for preserving the Dominions belonging to the Crown of Great Britain by solemn Treaties, and particularly those of Gibraltar and the Island of Minorca, and for maintaining to the People their most valuable Rights and Privileges of Commerce, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Europe.

Which being read twice by the Clerk, the Question was put, *Whether to agree with the Committee in this Resolution?*

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient

1. The Resolution of the Committee being not only a Justification of the Measures therein mentioned, but tending to approve the Counsels which have been given to the Crown relating thereto, we can by no means agree, that it fully appears they were Honourable, Just and Necessary, before they have been maturely and distinctly considered; the only Question as yet debated in the Committee (except the Resolution) being upon an Address of Advice to his Majesty, for obtaining a further Security from, and Confidence in his Allies, in Case of a Rupture; which Address appeared to us more seasonable and necessary in the present Conjuncture, than any Vote of Approbation: We therefore can't concur in approving Measures and Counsels not yet examined into, the further Consideration whereof may be also precluded by this Resolution.

2. The Papers hitherto laid before the House, in order to the Consideration of his Majesty's Speech, are such only as concern'd the Accession of the *States General* to the Treaty of *Hanover*, and Letters and Memorials since the Arrival of the *British* Fleets on the Coasts of *Spain*, and in *America*; but none of the Negotiations or Measures (which we suppose to have been many) that have been carried on between Powers, which his Majesty's Speech, and the Resolution also may have Relation to, have as yet been communicated to this House; but all those Measures, and many others (unknown, as we believe, to this House) are in our Opinions, intended to be approved and justified by this Resolution: To which therefore we can concur no more, than if it had declared the Measures Honourable, Just, and Necessary, which shall hereafter be taken for the Purpose therein mentioned.

3. Altho' we rely in the most dutiful manner on the Declaration made from the Throne of these Kingdoms; yet finding by the Papers laid before the House, that any such Engagement or Measure for putting the same in Execution, is absolutely denied on the Part of *Spain* (one of the supposed Parties to the said Engagement) we can't agree to the Resolution, because Time may evince, that the Informations his Majesty has received concerning that Engagement, were not justly grounded, and the Measures taken to prevent the Execution of them

them (whatever they were) not having been as yet particularly considered, we can't declare them Honourable, Just, and Necessary.

4. We find it charged in one of the Papers laid before the House, *That very considerable Sums of Money have been sent and employ'd in France, Holland, Prussia, Sweden, and other Places, to promote and accomplish the Designs of the British Court:* Which Insinuation, as vile as we think it is, the Committee hath not yet taken the same into Consideration, tho' a thorough Examination into the Grounds of that Consideration, is, in our Opinions, absolutely necessary for the Honour of his Majesty's Government, and the Satisfaction of this House; we can't therefore agree to the Resolution, which, as we conceive, may be construed to stop all future Enquiries into this Matter.

5. Whatever Measures may have been taken to preserve *Gibraltar* and the Isle of *Minorca*, yet we can't agree to declare them Honourable, Just and Necessary, before they have been fully considered in the Committee; and the rather, because we find it asserted on the Part of *Spain*, in one or more of the Memorials before the House, that a positive Promise has been made on the Behalf of *Britain*, for the Restitution of *Gibraltar* to *Spain*; on the Performance of which Promise, *Spain*, as it appears to us, still insists: We can't therefore agree to the Resolution, before the Truth, and all the Circumstances of that pretended Promise are thoroughly examined into; which Promise, if it should appear to have been made, as is asserted, we are of Opinion, that it was highly criminal in those who advised it.

6. The Measures taken for maintaining the *British* Commerce, and the Tranquillity of *Europe*, have not, as we think, been under the distinct Consideration of the Committee, since the Memorials and Letters were laid before the House. The Oppositions made, if any, on the Behalf of *Britain*, at the Court of *Vienna*, to the *Ostend* Company, are unknown to us, as well as the Circumstances relating to the late *Baltick* Expedition; but yet all these Matters were the proper Consideration of the Committee. For which, and the other Reasons abovementioned, we being apprehensive, that the Resolution proposed may not give solid Ground

of Satisfaction to the People of *Great Britain*, or to any foreign Powers in Alliance with us, or conduce to the Honour of his Majesty's Government, or the Support of the Dignity of this House, can't agree thereto.

<i>Scarsdale</i>	<i>Bruce</i>	<i>Coventry</i>
<i>Strafford</i>	<i>Aberdeen</i>	<i>Bristol</i>
<i>Boyle</i>	<i>Bathurst</i>	<i>Foley</i>
<i>Montjoy</i>	<i>Compton</i>	<i>Lechmere</i>
<i>Gower</i>	<i>Weston</i>	<i>Masham.</i>
<i>St. John of Blets.</i>	<i>Oxf. and Mortimer</i>	

After which, it was moved to resolve, That an humble Address be made to his Majesty, representing the deep Concern of this House on the Prospect of the imminent Dangers which threaten these Kingdoms and all *Europe* at this Juncture, from the formidable Confederacies which his Majesty assured his Parliament were entered into between the Courts of *Spain, Vienna, Russia*, and other great Powers, whereby the general Tranquillity may soon be broke, and *Europe* engaged into a new War; and it appearing to this House, from the Act of Accession of the *States General*, and the separate Articles thereto belonging, That their Accession is made upon several Conditions and Reserves on their Part, and particularly, That in the separate Article concerning the Commerce from the *Austrian* Low Countries to the *Indies*, it is provided, That if, on Account of their Use of their Right of Commerce, or in Hatred of that Alliance, any Disturbance should happen, and his Imperial Majesty should suspend or retain the Payment of their Troops, in the Places of the Barrier, or the Payment of the Interest and Principal placed by Mortgage on divers Funds assigned by his Imperial Majesty for the Security of that Payment, or make use of any other kind of Reprizals, or Ways of Force, that it is the Intention of the other contracting Powers, to protect and maintain the *States General* in their Right of Commerce to the *Indies*, and guarantee them from all the Consequences which might result therefrom, without having Power to proceed by Force against the Company of *Ostend*, before the contracting Powers shall have agreed thereon: And by another separate Article,

Article, it being stipulated and reserved to the *States General*, That they shall continue to have the same Liberty, with respect to every thing that shall be proposed to them by the contracting Powers, upon such Points, whose Object shall be the maintaining the Balance of Power in *Europe*, as they had before their Accession, without being bound by their Accession, to take Part in the Measures which they should not consent to.

And it appearing to this House, That his *Prussian Majesty* did not concur in the said Accession of the *States General*; in Consequence of all which, the Strength and Security which the Treaty of *Hanover* might otherwise import in the present unhappy Conjunction, is much weaken'd; and in Case of a general Rupture, the Danger, as well as the Burthen of the War must fall upon *Great Britain*; and the Preservation of the Balance of Power in *Europe* depend on the Continuance of the Friendship and Assistance of *France* alone, unless more effectual Measures are taken for that great End.

Therefore, That this House, out of Duty to his sacred Majesty, and from their unfeigned Zeal for the Safety of his Government, and the Liberties of *Europe*, doth most earnestly beseech his Majesty, to make new and pressing Instances with his *Prussian Majesty*, and the *States General*, to concur with his Majesty and his other Allies, in such Manner as the present critical and dangerous Juncture requires: And as, in the Event of a War, in Case a War is unavoidable, his Majesty may, by the Blessing of God, secure a just Balance of Power in *Europe*, as well as the Religion, Liberties, Properties and Commerce of his Subjects.

Which being objected to, the Question was put, *Whether such an Address shall be made to his Majesty?*

It was resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient

The Address proposed representing, as we think, the present State of the late Defensive Alliance made at *Hanover*, which, for ought appears to us, is the main Support on which *Britain* can depend, besides its own Strength, in case of a general Rupture in *Europe*; we thought it highly necessary that it should have passed in-

to a Resolution, whereby his Majesty's Hands might have been strengthened in his future Concerts with his Allies, and such further Measures effected, as are necessary to preserve his Alliances during the War, against the dangerous Combinations levelled against *Great Britain*, and by which such a Repartition of Conquests, in Case of Success, might be previously settled, as in the Event would prevent the Loss of a just Balance of Power in *Europe*; and we are the more convinced of the Necessity of the Advice proposed in the Address, because we find in one of the Letters laid before the House, That a Proposition has been made by the Court of *Spain* to the King of *France*, tho' not agreed to, to declare himself against *Great Britain*, on a Pretence (which we hope is groundless) That the Defensive Alliance between *Great Britain* and *France* doth no longer subsist.

Scarsdale

Gower

Boyle

Aberdeen

Wiston

St. John of Bletsf.

Coventry

Bathurst

Compton

Bristol

Lechmere

Oxf. and Mortimer

Strafford

Montjoy

Bruce

Foley

Majham.

Then it was moved to resolve, *That this House will on this Day sevensnight take into further Consideration his Majesty's most Gracious Speech:*

Which being objected to, after Debate, the Question was put upon the said Motion. It was resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient

1. Because the Committee having sat one Day only on the Consideration of his Majesty's Speech, could possibly deliberate but upon few of the many weighty Points which arise thereon; on all which, the Advice and Support of this House, in our Opinions, is absolutely necessary: And since even the Facts relating to many of these weighty Matters, have not, as we conceive, been yet laid before the House, we think the further Consideration of the Speech should not have been refused, there not being, as we believe, any Precedent for such a Refusal, under the like Circumstances, on the Journals of this House.

2. His

2. His Majesty's Speech containing the Causes of calling his Parliament, and the Advice of this House to the Crown being required thereon, the Refusal of the Day proposed seems to us tending to disable the House from discharging their Duty to the Crown, as well as to the Kingdom, in this critical and dangerous Juncture: And as the farther Consideration proposed is thereby at present refused, the Precedent, as we fear, lays a Foundation for depriving this House, in future Times, of any Opportunity at all for such Considerations, by which Means this House must (in our Opinions) be rendered useless in those great Affairs whereon the Safety and Support of the Liberties of the Kingdom may depend.

Bruce	Coventry	Scarsdale
Aberdeen	Strafford	Bristol
Montjoy	Bathurst	Gower
Compton	Boyle	Foley
Lechmere	Weston	Masbam,
St. John of Blets.	Oxf. and Mortimer.	

Die Mercurii, 9^{no} Aprilis 1727.

H O D I E *tertia vice lecta est Billa entituled, An Act for continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mm, Cyder, and Perry, &c. for the Service of the Year 1727, and for other Purposes.*

After Debate, the Question was put, *Whether this Bill shall pass?*

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient

1. Because in the Bill it is enacted, That out of the Supply granted this Session, there shall, and may be, from time to time, assigned and applied, such Sums of Money as shall be necessary for, and towards answering such Expences and Engagements as have at any time been, or shall be, before, or until, the 25th Day of December 1727, made by his Majesty, in concerting such Measures as he, in his great Wisdom, thinks will best conduce to the Security of the Trade and Navigation

gation of this Kingdom, and to the preserving and restoring of the Peace of *Europe*; which Clause we think inconsistent with that Part of the Bill which forbids the Supplies to be issued to any other Purposes than those specified, and renders ineffectual that Appropriation of the publick Money, which the Wisdom of many Parliaments has thought, and we are convinced ought to be thought, a necessary Security against the Misapplication of it.

2. Because there is no Provision in the Bill, to oblige any Person to give an Account of any Money that shall be disposed of by Virtue of the Power in this Clause.

3. Because there are sufficient Sums granted to answer every particular Purpose that Money can be wanted for, as far as our present Views can reach; and if any unforeseen Emergency should demand a further Supply, we should think that might be provided for, as has been formerly practised, when Necessity required: And we are persuaded this might be done with less Inconveniency, than by the Delegation of almost a Dictatorial Authority, at least till the Parliament could be called together, who have given so many Instances of their Zeal to his Majesty, that he could have no Room to doubt of their Readiness to make good whatsoever he should have expended for the Advantage of his People.

4. Because we think, that absolute Powers ought to be given in a free Government, only upon Occasions of evident Necessity, and when the very Being of the Government is in Danger; and tho' we allow our present Circumstances to be as melancholly as they have at any time been, yet, we think it a very improper Remedy for our present State, to depart from the approved, and in our Judgment, essential Forms of giving the Publick Money. Nor can we be persuaded, that it is the only, or even the best Expedient, that can be found to extricate us out of our unhappy Situation, to repose such a Confidence in the Crown, in the Disposition of immense Sums of Money, as may, by the Advice of wicked and incapable Ministers (if it should be our Misfortune ever to have such) be attended with great Prejudice to our Properties, and great Danger to our Liberties, with the Hopes of the Preservation

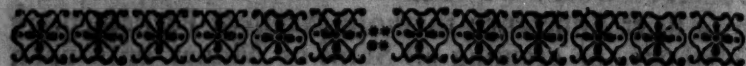
vation of which we cannot flatter ourselves, but only by a strict Adherence to those excellent Parliamentary Methods, of granting all Sums of Money only upon Estimates, and for Services publickly avowed.

5. Because the Precedents that were offered to justify this Clause, were far from giving us any Satisfaction; for if they had been plain and full to the Point (which we think they were not) yet, in our Opinions, ought not to be followed, lest Clauses of the same Nature might become too frequent, and lest an unlimited Power in the Crown, to raise Millions on our Fellow-Subjects, might be looked upon, by Degrees, as a thing of Course, and so at last, the total Power, to levy and dispose of the People's Money, be given to one Part of the Legislature, which, by our wise Constitution is, and with Safety can only be, lodged in the Whole.

Strafford
Warrington
Scarsdale
Coventry
Oxf. and Mortimer
Litchfield

Boyle
Bingley
Lechmere
Aylesford
Maynard
Batburs

Aberdeen
Craven
Foley
Brooks
Gower.



The LETTERS of the Marquis de la Paz, Secretary of State to His Catholick Majesty, and Coll. Stanhope, Ambassador of His Britannick Majesty: With some Remarks upon the Conduct of the British Ministry in the present Posture of the Affairs of Europe.

THE late Proceedings of the *British* Court, with Regard to that of *Spain*, having brought Matters to such an Extremity, that nothing less than a Rupture can be expected; it is thought not improper to publish some of the Letters and Representations, which have passed on that Occasion, that every one may freely and impartially judge, on which Side the Blame should lye; or whether the Ministers of *Madrid* or those of *London*, will be answerable for all the Misfortunes of a War between the two Nations.

In the translating these Papers, Care has been taken to keep closely, not only to the Sense, but even as much as possible, to the Words and Expressions; and it must be look'd upon as a Circumstance of no Disadvantage to those, who are willing to let the World judge of their Actions, from the most authentick Accounts.

COPY of a Letter from the Marquis de la Paz to Mr. Stanhope, the 17th of August, 1726.

S I R,

THE King my Master has received repeated Advices since the the 15th, That the *British* Squadron of Men of War, under the Command of Admiral *Jennings*, after cruising upon the Coast of *St. Andero*, and coming very near that Port, did afterwards enter into that of *St. Antonio* (upon Pretence of taking in fresh Water) without meeting any Opposition, or receiving any Damage from the Forts upon those Coasts, the Commanders of that Place having readily consented to it, in Confidence of the Friendship and good

good Correspondence they knew to subsist, and to be cultivated on the Part of his Majesty with the King of *Great Britain*, in which Confidence they thought themselves confirm'd by the Protestations of Peace made by Admiral *Jennings*. However, the King my Master finding it necessary for his future Conduct, to know immediately and certainly, the Intention of his *Britannick* Majesty by this Proceeding, and the true Design of this Squadron, has commanded me to send this Courier to your Excellency, and to write this Letter in his Name, that, in the Answer, which his Majesty expects by the same Courier, your Excellency may declare plainly, and without Disguise, the true Intention of the King your Master, and the real Design of this Squadron; and that in case your Excellency should not immediately give such a clear and categorical Answer, His Majesty may take such proper Measures as he shall judge necessary, and give such Orders as shall be proper for his Service. I am, &c.

The same Day, Mr. Stanhope, after repeating the Substance of the Marquis de la Paz's Letter, made the following Answer to it.

UPON which I have the Honour to acquaint you, that, as I have not received any Orders from the King my Master concerning such a categorical Declaration as his Catholick Majesty demands of me, I dare not take upon myself to give it, even tho' I were informed of his Majesty's Intentions in sending this Squadron; but if it may be agreeable to his Catholick Majesty, I will immediately dispatch a Courier to *London* with your Letter, in order to receive from my Court Orders thereupon, without Loss of Time; and in the mean Time, his Catholick Majesty may be assured, that the Admiral would not have ventured to make any Declaration or Protestation, which had not been entirely conformable to his Instructions, and to the Intentions of the King.

I shall be very much obliged to you, Sir, if you will let me know to morrow, whether his Catholick Majesty approves of my dispatching a Courier to my Court in the manner I have now proposed; and, in this Case, you will be pleased to send me at the same time an Order for Post-horses. I am, &c.

The

The Marquis de la Paz repeating in his Answer the Substance of the former Letter, expresses himself to Mr. Stanhope on the 19th of August 1726. in the following Manner.

HAVING represented to the King my Master the Substance of your Letter, he approves of your Proposal, of sending a Courier to *London*; and you will be pleased to mention, that as his Majesty expects to be inform'd exactly of the Intentions of his *Britannick* Majesty, with Regard to the Squadron commanded by Admiral *Jennings*, he desires likewise to know the Design of the Squadron which has been sent to the *West Indies*: For if these Squadrons, as has been pretended, were fitted out with no other View, but to secure the Trade of the *British* Nation; as the King my Master has never hitherto hindered, or disturbed, the fair Trade, which the Subjects of *England* carry on in all his Majesty's Dominions, but has only endeavoured to put a Stop to, and prevent a clandestine Trade in the *West Indies*, which is prohibited to all Nations whatsoever by the Laws of *Spain* and the *Indies*, as well as by Virtue of the Treaty of Peace and Commerce with *England*, all Pretences for these Squadrons ceases, and his *British* Majesty may recall the Squadron sent to the *West Indies*, for the Security of Trade, which his Majesty has neither disturbed hitherto, nor is now attempting to disturb; and upon these two Points, the King expects a direct and positive Answer from his *British* Majesty, in order to govern himself in his future Deliberations; and until such time as a positive Declaration is given, touching the Designs of each of these Squadrons, his Majesty has this Day thought fit to give Orders to all his commanding Officers on the Coasts and Ports of this *Peninsula*, not to suffer the Squadron under Admiral *Jennings*, nor any Ship of it, to come into any Port of *Spain*, but in case of their desiring fresh Water, or any other Provisions, to allow them to send in their Boats; this being what his Majesty has commanded me to acquaint your Excellency with for your Guidance. I send you at the same time an Order for the Post-horses, that the Courier may be dispatch'd immediately.

COPY

C O P Y of the Representation made by Mr. Stanhope to his Catholick Majesty, on the 25th of September 1726.

S I R,

THE under-written Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary of his *British* Majesty, having transmitted to his Court the Letters (Copies whereof are hereunto annexed) between the *Marquis de la Paz* and himself, on the 17th and 19th of *August* last, concerning the Arrival of the *British* Squadron upon the Coasts of *Spain*, received Orders yesterday by a special Messenger, to represent thereupon to your Majesty, that the King his Master was greatly surprized, as well at the Stile, as at the Substance of the said Letters from the *Marquis de la Paz*, which contain Expressions and Demands not usual between the Ministers of Princes who live together in Friendship; and that the King cannot conceive how your Majesty could be alarmed at the Appearance of Sir *John Jennings's* Fleet upon the Coast of *St. Andero*, since the *Marquis de la Paz* himself owns, that the Admiral had, immediately upon his Arrival, assured the *Spanish* Governours, that he was not come with an Intention to commit any Hostility, but as a Friend, and with a peaceable Disposition, having been forc'd on those Coasts by contrary Winds, and by a Necessity of taking in fresh Water.

That the King is surpriz'd likewise, that your Majesty can yourself be ignorant of the Reasons, as well as not convinced of the Necessity, which obliged his Majesty to make these naval Expeditions on Account of the Engagements some of the considerable Powers of *Europe* have for some Time entered into, and of which his Majesty has complain'd so often, and so loudly. The Armaments by Sea which have been made in most of the Ports of *Spain*; the warlike Preparations, and the marching a considerable Number of Troops towards that part of the Coast which is nearest, and most convenient for making any Attempt upon the Dominions of his Majesty; the great Hopes conceiv'd by the Emisaries and Adherents of the Pretender, who have boasted very publickly of the Assistance they were to receive from your Side; their Persuasion of this, as
it

it plainly appeared by the pernicious and indiscreet Conduct of some among them, who have lately been received and favoured at *Madrid*: This considered, with the Intrigues carried on by the *Muscovites*, and the Reasons his Majesty has to suspect the ill Design there was in sending last Year the three Ships from *Petersburgh*, first to *Cadiz*, and thence to *St. Andero*: The Knowledge his Majesty had last Winter, by the Confession of the *Spanish* Ministry, of an Offensive Alliance made between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, and by a certain Article of this Alliance there was an Engagement to employ open Force to obtain *Gibraltar* for the King of *Spain*, which Place his Majesty possesses by so just a Title: The great Subsidies which have been furnished to the Imperial Court, and which do not appear to be due by virtue of any Alliance yet made publick: The notorious Infringements which the *Spanish* *Garde de Costa's* have for a long time made on the Freedom of the Trade and Navigation of his Majesty's Subjects in the *West Indies*, Infringements so frequently complained of, without receiving the Appearance of Satisfaction or Reparation. All which things taken together, are sufficient to shew very clearly, the Reasons which have disposed his Majesty to take the Measures he thought proper, and to fit out the several Fleets which have been sent to Sea: And his Majesty's Subjects would have had just Cause to complain, if Care had not been taken for the Safety of the Kingdom, and of their Rights and Properties, which they found to be threatned, and in Danger. His Majesty therefore expects, that his Ships of War shall be allowed to enter into the Ports of *Spain*, according to the Manner settled by the several Treaties which actually subsist between the two Nations.

The underwritten Ambassador has likewise Orders to take this Occasion to represent to his Catholick Majesty the Surprize of the King, that no Satisfaction has yet been offered for the extraordinary and unjustifiable Proceeding, of taking the *Duke de Riperda* by Force out of his House; a Proceeding of which he complained some time ago, by Order, and in the Name of his Majesty. And lastly, he has Orders to say, that the King is no less surprized at the Affront done to his Consul residing at *St. Sebastian*, who was obliged to quit that Post, and retire to *Salamanca*, contrary to the Law of Nations,

Nations, and to the Tenor of Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns.

At Madrid, the 25th of September 1726.

M. STANHOPE.

COPY of the Answer given by the Marquis de la Paz to Mr. Stanhope, the 30th of September 1726, upon the foregoing Representation.

S I R,

IN Pursuance of your Excellency's Desire in your private Letter to me of the 25th Instant, I did immediately lay before the King my Master your Excellency's Representation addressed to his Majesty, as the Answer your Excellency was to give to what I had, by his Majesty's Command, writ to you on the 17th and 19th of *August*, Copies of which Letters, together with your Answer of the 17th, are hereunto annexed, as being the Basis and Foundation of the Representation made by your Excellency, in Pursuance of Orders from the King of *Great Britain* received the 24th of *September*, by the Return of the Courier you sent to *London*. His Majesty being fully inform'd of the Contents of the said Representation, tho' he had Reason to expect an Answer from the *British* Court, more clear, more positive, and more satisfactory, was not however surpriz'd, nor did it at all appear strange to him, considering the ill Disposition and Intentions which the *English* Ministry had for some time shewn in all their Proceedings, notwithstanding their Endeavour to palliate and disguise the same by Expressions and Protestations of Friendship, which have been literally made use of on the present Occasion, instead of a sincere and friendly Explanation, as had been desired, of the Designs in View, by sending the Squadrons under Admiral *Hopson* and Admiral *Jennings*, to the *West Indies*, and on the Coasts of this *Peninsula*. His Majesty is at present apprized of the new Shifts and specious Pretences intermix'd with Complaints which have no Foundation, and are entirely contrary to the Candour and Sincerity religiously observed by his Majesty towards his Friends and Allies, but very agreeable to the Genius of the *English* Ministry, and to the weak
Pre-

Pretences and exaggerated Reasons which they have heaped together, to persuade the Parliament of imaginary Dangers threatening the *British* Crown and Nation, thereby the more readily to obtain a Consent to the very great, but very unnecessary Expences which have been made, in fitting out so many different Squadrons. But yet all this notwithstanding, his Majesty has directed me to declare to your Excellency what the Force of Truth, and the Uprightness of his Intentions have suggested to his Consideration, concerning the Suspicions which his *British* Majesty expresses of the Conduct of this Court.

In the first Place, it is set forth with great Exaggeration, as if great Naval Armaments had been made in the Ports of *Spain*, when nothing is more certain, and more publickly known, than that no extraordinary Armament has been made, nor any thing of this kind done, that could give the least Umbrage to *Great Britain*, tho' the numerous Squadrons, which were at the same time fitting out with great Diligence in the Ports of *Great Britain*, ought to have given his Majesty Reason more than sufficient, for making such Preparations and Dispositions on his Part, as are pretended; especially since, by the Reports spread at that Time in all Parts of *Europe*, the Dominions and Rights of his Majesty, both in this Kingdom and the *Indies*, were threatned: And these Reports seemed to be farther confirm'd by the Course taken by the two Squadrons abovementioned, the one having appeared on the *Spanish* Coast in the *West Indies*, as the other has done on that of these Kingdoms.

The same Reason might serve to justify the marching of a considerable Body of Troops towards the Coasts which lie nearest to *Great Britain*; but in this Case it must be very particularly observed, as a very just Ground of Complaint on the Part of the King my Master, that the March of Troops was occasioned by the Arrival of the *English* Squadron before *St. Andero*, which alarm'd and rous'd us from that Tranquillity and Security we depended upon, as was very evident from the little Precaution taken in these Parts, where there were no more Troops than barely sufficient for Garrisons, and such as some past Occasions have made necessary even in time of Peace, to secure those Places,
and

and the Docks for building of Ships, which are in the Neighbourhood, against any further Surprize or Danger. As to the Pretender, it is not possible to charge his Majesty, upon the least Foundation of Truth, with the taking any Step, or giving any Encouragement, much less of furnishing real Assistance to support his Pretensions, or any Designs he may have against the Crown of *Great Britain*, it being very certain, that the Conduct his Majesty has observed to the Emissaries, who are pointed at, tho' not particularly named in your Excellency's Representation, is the most authentick Testimony of his Majesty's sincere and religious Friendship to the King of *Great Britain*; but his Majesty cannot answer for, nor ought to be charged with, Reports which the Emissaries of the Pretender may spread to encourage and animate one another; neither is it possible to conceive what Foundation there can be to suspect any ill Designs, or to impute to any secret Intelligence in that View, the admitting into the Ports of *Spain*, the three Merchant Ships from *Muscovy*, which, according to the Method observed towards all Nations in Friendship with the Court of *Spain*, came into the Port of *Cadiz*, and went afterwards into that of *St. Andero*, to carry on their Trade; there must indeed be a very strong Inclination to form Suspicions and Apprehensions, when any can be raised on so innocent an Occasion.

As for the false Confidence which the Duke de *Riperda* thought fit to make to your Excellency last Winter, about an Offensive Alliance, and a positive Engagement of the Emperor, for the recovering of *Gibraltar*, his Majesty has already endeavoured to undeceive his *Britannick* Majesty in that Particular, he having no other View, than to engage his *British* Majesty to repeat those Acknowledgments he has already made, from which neither the King my Master, nor the *Spanish* Nation will ever desist. As very considerable Sums of Money have been sent and employ'd by his *British* Majesty in *France*, *Prussia*, *Sweden*, *Holland*, and other Places, to promote and accomplish his Designs, and yet the King my Master has never had the Curiosity to enquire into the Motives of these Expences, he thinks it the more surprizing, that his *British* Majesty should now demand of him an Account of any Sum of Money

ney he may or may not have sent by way of Subsidy to the Emperor.

The Complaint made against the *Garde de Costa's*, whose Proceedings are represented as Infractions of Treaties, and Violations of the Freedom of Commerce, is the most unjust that can be imagined; for what have these Ships done, but, in Pursuance of their Duty, in hindering only, as well as they could, the clandestine and unwarrantable Trade of all Nations to the *Spanish West Indies*? A Trade very solemnly and strictly prohibited by several Treaties; and yet the Conditions of which have hitherto been so much eluded, to the Prejudice of his Majesty and his just Rights, by Frauds so insolently attempted within his Dominions, without any Endeavour, on the Part of his *British* Majesty, to remedy this Abuse in the Conduct of his own Subjects as well as in those of other Powers in those Parts.

Your Excellency concludes with declaring a new Occasion of Surprize in his *Britannick* Majesty, that no Satisfaction has yet been given about the taking the *Duke de Ripperda* out of your Excellency's House; but as the King my Master's Resolution in that Affair was taken upon mature Deliberation, and was entirely justifiable before God and the World, as well as so perfectly agreeable to the Law of Nations, there can be no Pretence of any Wrong done to your Excellency's Character of Ambassador, or of violating the Protection due to the Arms of *Great Britain*. Upon a due Consideration therefore of the Reasons which his Majesty was pleased, in his great Goodness to communicate to the Publick, by the circular Letters I writ by his Orders to his Ministers in foreign Courts, and particularly to *London*, for the Information of his *British* Majesty, and of the Ministers residing at that Court; his Majesty does not think fit to say any thing more, or to enter into any further Reasonings about that Affair, there being no Foundation or Necessity for any such Satisfaction as is pretended. But that the Conduct of the King my Master may be farther justified by Facts, and that, by the same Rule, an equitable Judgment may be form'd of the Intentions of his *British* Majesty, and of the Designs of his Squadrons, his Majesty has commanded me to send to your Excellency the annexed

Copies

Copies of authentick Advices, which have been received from the *Havana*, since your Excellency's Representation was delivered; from whence it may appear, whether the Proceedings of Admiral *Hofier*, with his Squadron at *Portobello*, are becoming a Prince, who gives such strong Assurances as his *British* Majesty has done, and who complains so much of Infractions on the Part of the King my Master, without being able to prove the least Act of Hostility, or even want of due Attention, or any Fact which is not perfectly agreeable to the best Intelligence and good Correspondence between the two Nations. Upon the Foundation of this Fact, and the Hostilities before mentioned, and which have been further confirmed in the *West Indies*, and which his Majesty cannot but consider as a Violation of the good Correspondence and Peace between the two Crowns, his Majesty will find himself obliged to take such Measures as may be most suitable to the Honour and Dignity of his Crown, as well as necessary for the Security of his Dominions, and of his Subjects, unless his Majesty shall without Delay give Orders for a speedy Redress and Satisfaction. I am, &c.

COPY of a Letter of Don Antonio Serrano, Commander of a Squadron at Havana, the 8th of August 1726.

THE First of this Instant at Night, the Governour gave me Notice, that he received a Letter from *Portobello*, dated the 16th of *July*, telling him that the Galleons would stay there, because there were twelve *English* Ships abroad, which sent to demand the Ship of Permission, and a Packet-boat, which were in that Port, which was granted them. That of those twelve Ships four Fregats were detach'd, which cruised along the Coast from *Portobello* to the *Isle-Forte* and *Cartagena*.

That one of our Fregats, and two Bilanders, having set Sail from *Portobello* to *Chagre*, they were followed by an *English* Ship, which being come up with them, she obliged them to return to the same Port from whence they came, without doing them any other Damage.

That the *English* Shallops went into, and came from *Portobello*, and that the *English* land, and go where they please. That Monsieur *Aldarete*, the President of *Panama*, was at *Portobello*, and *Don Antonio Castanetta* was not then arrived there, neither had they any Tidings of him.

Another Letter from *Portobello* to one in this Town, gives almost the same Account, and says farther, that the Treasure was carried up to *Crucis*, which is seven Leagues from *Panama*.

A COPY of the Declaration of Don Diego Ramos, made before the Justice Ordinary of the City of Trinity of Cube, the 28th of July 1726.

THE Gentlemen Justices immediately obliged *Don Diego Ramos*, Inhabitant of that City, and Passenger in the Ship mentioned in the Process, to appear. They, according to Law, put him to his Oath, by God our Lord, and the Holy Cross; and having examined him upon the Subject in Question, he made his Deposition as followeth.

That he was in *Portobello*, when he discover'd twelve *English* Men of War at Sea, which happened on *Trinity-Sunday* of this present Year, four Ships of the Line, and twelve Fregats. That the same Day, finding they had cast Anchor at *Bastimentos*, the President of *Panama* sent a Messenger to them, to ask the chief Commander what they had to do upon those Coasts? He made Answer the next Day, that they came by Order of their Sovereign, to guard the Ship of Permission, which was incorporated with their Galleons. This Answer was brought by *Englishmen* of the same Squadron, among whom was an *English* Factor of *Carthagena*, of the *Assiento de Negros*, in a Boat which entered into the Port. And having been ask'd, they answered, that there was no War between the two Crowns. That they deliver'd up to them the Ship of Permission, and another *English* Packet-boat, which was in the Port; and the President seeing that they still continued to stay there, he sent to ask what Motives they had to lye at Anchor on their Coast? They made Answer, that they could not leave it till farther Orders

ders from their Sovereign. That four of these Ships kept a Guard from *Bastimentos* as far as *Isle-Forte* on the Coast of *Carthagena*, out of Sight of the Land. That the *English* of the Squadron come as often as they please in their Shallops, into *Portobello*, and walk about there, without having any Regard for the President, and the Generals, and Admiral of the Galleons. That a little Shallop coming from *St. Esprit*, and which drew near *Portobello*, was taken by them; that they open'd the Letters, and let her come away, after they had enquired for *M. Castanetta*, whether he was come from *Spain* with the Squadron which is expected in the *Spanish America*.

That wanting Viſuals at *Portobello*, they held a Council of War, wherein they resolved to demand of the *English* Squadron a free Passage for the *Spanish* Vessels to go for Provision to *Carthagena*; which the *English* Admiral granted, but upon Condition that they would go with the ordinary Ballast, without either Money or Fruit; and that, in a Word, all the Motions of the *English* Squadron denoted a Rupture. This is what the Witness had seen the same Day that he left *Portobello*, to come to this Town of *Trinity*. At the same time twelve Bilanders, with two *Spanish* Convoys, hoisted Sail to go to *Chagre*, loaded with the Merchandize which they transport from the Galleons to *Panama*; one of the Ships of the Line of the *English* Squadron, which lay aboard, began to chase them, and all the Ships returned back, and fled to *Portobello*, where most of them entered; the rest passed just by the Ship, which did not pursue them, and she put herself under the Artillery of the Castles, and afterwards hoisted Sail, and went out. The Ship in which the Witness was, continued its Course, and knew no more than what he has deposed and declared, which is publick, notorious, and consistent with Truth, upon the Oath he took. The Respect and the Importance of the Service of his Majesty were declared to him at the same time that he was put to his Oath. He is Twenty Four Years of Age, and sign'd it with the Gentlemen Justices, *Bernal Fernandez*, *Diego Ramos*, *Antonio Sevastiano de Cala*, Notary Publick.

To this last Letter of the *Marquis de la Paz* Answer has been delivered by Mr. *Stanhope*, which probably will be published with the Reply to it; in the mean time I shall take the Liberty of offering some few Considerations on the Purport of these Papers.

I Think it appears very plainly, that the *English* Ministers are much at a Loss, to find any tolerable Pretence for the great Expences they have put their Nation to by their warlike Expeditions. They must acknowledge, that the Court of *Spain* has a Right, by Treaties, to hinder any clandestine Trade to their *West Indies*; they will not pretend to say that the *English* have not attempted such a Trade; and if the *Gardes de Costa's* have happened to go beyond the Bounds of their Duty in some particular Instances, those Treaties have provided, that Justice shall be done in an amicable Manner; but the Complaint is in general Terms, without specifying any Cases or Times in which the Wrong was done, or the Justice refused: This Complaint too is, by their own Confession, of a long Standing: How comes it then, that the Remedy they now pretend to be so proper and necessary, has not been sooner applied? The *English* Men of War, which have been constantly stationed at *Jamaica*, seem to have been sufficient for such a Purpose, or at least might have been so, and have saved such an Extravagant Expence as that of *Hofier's* Squadron. But let us consider how this Squadron has been employed for the pretended Purposes of protecting Trade against the *Garde de Costa's*: Is it cruising in the proper Stations for such a Design? So far the contrary, that Admiral *Hofier* has not only taken his own Squadron, but carried likewise the Ships formerly on these Stations to *Portobello*, where he has committed direct Hostilities against the Crown of *Spain*, leaving in the mean time the Trade not only exposed to the *Garde de Costa's*, but even to Pirates. Upon this Head I cannot but observe that, as the *Marquis de la Paz's* Letter repeats more than once, in the strongest manner, that the Trade to the *West Indies* is expressly prohibited to all Nations whatsoever, by the Laws of *Spain*, and of the *Indies*, as well as by many Treaties; This contradicts very fully what
has

has been pretended, as if the *Vienna Treaty of Commerce* had given the Emperor's Subjects a Liberty of trading to the *Spanish West Indies*.

Let us consider next, whether the *English Ministers* give any better Reasons for the Design of Admiral *Fennings's* Squadron. They say at first, that the Admiral did not come upon the *Spanish Coast* with an Intention to commit any Hostilities, but as a Friend, and with a pacifick Disposition, having been forced upon that Coast by contrary Winds, and a Necessity of taking in fresh Water.

It is to be observed, that the Admiral had not been long at Sea when he came upon the *Spanish Coast*, so that it may seem very extraordinary that he should be reduced to a Necessity of taking in fresh Water at the Port of *St. Antonio*; and if he was driven on that Coast by contrary Winds, it will be very hard to guess what his direct Course should have been. This would remain a Doubt among the *Arcana Imperii* of some great Statesmen, unless it is to be explain'd by the subsequent Part of Mr. *Stanhope's* Representation, which enumerates several pretended Reasons for his Expedition.

But what are those Reasons? Great naval Armaments had been made in the Ports of *Spain*, and a considerable Body of Troops sent to that Part of the Coast, from whence an Attempt might most easily be made upon the *British Dominions*. What became then of those great Armaments? There has been no Appearance of them at Sea, nor are we told that the *English Admiral* discover'd any within the Ports. The *English Ministers* surely will not say that these Designs were stopp'd by the vigorous Resolution of the Parliament; for then the Expence of this Squadron was altogether unnecessary, to obviate Dangers which were over many Months before; and as for the March of Troops towards the Coast, they themselves had very fully accounted for it, by what was published in their most authentick Newspapers, of the great Alarm which their Squadron had given to the *Spaniards*, and which indeed was the only Effect the Publick has yet known of that Expedition. Thus do they pretend to draw Reasons for their Actions from the necessary Consequences of them: They alarm the *Spanish Coasts*, and when they are asked, why

why they did so? Their Answer is, because the *Spaniards* have, upon that Alarm, endeavoured to put themselves into some Posture of Defence. But must not the King of *Spain* be allowed to keep any Garrisons in such Parts of his Dominions as are said to be the nearest to those of *Great Britain*? Would the *English* think this kind of Reasoning sufficient to debar them from fitting out Ships, and having Garrisons at *Plymouth* and *Portsmouth*? But say the *English* Ministers, we had very great Reason to suspect and apprehend ill Designs, because three *Muscovite* Ships had been at *Cadiz* and *St. Andero*, and the Pretender's Emissaries had conceived great Hopes, and boasted publickly of the Assistance they were to receive, the Proof of which appeared by the pernicious and indiscreet Conduct of some of those Emissaries at *Madrid*. I must indeed allow in this Case, that the *English* Ministers are the most proper Judges, how far it was necessary to secure the Kingdom against the Danger of three Ships, and the indiscreet Conduct of the Pretender's Emissaries; but I must say, that the Court of *Spain* has hitherto judged very differently of the Power and Strength of the *British* Nation, as well as of their Affection and Fidelity to their present Sovereign: And if the Indiscretion of the Pretender's Emissaries is of such a dangerous Consequence, his Cause is not in so languishing and desperate a Condition as it has been generally look'd upon to be. But then surely it would have been more becoming the Prudence and Wisdom of the *English* Ministers, not to have discovered this important Secret, to a Court which they have been provoking by all sorts of ill Usage. They would likewise do well to consider, whether the Pretender has not more indiscreet Emissaries, and many able and fast Friends in other Places, which the *English* Nation hath formerly suspected with great Reason, tho' their Ministers have at present thought fit to bind themselves to them, by a most intimate, not to say, a most dependent Friendship.

There is no need of observing any thing in Addition of what is said in the Papers themselves, about the Offensive Alliance, and the Engagement for recovering *Gibraltar* by Force: The *English* Ministers do not, I am persuaded, imagine any such Engagement could

could be thought necessary in a Case where the Promise of the King their Master was already engaged. But I cannot help taking some Notice of the Article about the Duke *de Riperda*, that the *English* Ministers should concern themselves in so very extraordinary a manner, for the Protection of one whom they had always look'd upon as the chief Promoter of these Measures, of which they had, as they say themselves, complained so often and so loudly: His Favour in the Court of *Spain* was once their great Complaint, his Disgrace is now become their Grievance.

But we are not to be surprized at Inconsistencies, when Men are endeavouring to find Reasons in others for the wrong Measures they themselves have first taken. They set out with Assurances that Admiral *Jennings* came upon the Coasts of *Spain* as a Friend, and by Accident; they then pretend to give Reasons for his coming there in a hostile manner; at last conclude, that for these Reasons, they expect his Ships should be admitted into the Ports of *Spain*, by Virtue of Treaties of Peace and Friendship between the two Nations.

Much might be said to satisfy the World of his Catholick Majesty's sincere Disposition and particular Endeavours to preserve that Peace and Friendship; but for this there may be soon a more proper Occasion: However, allowing every Article of Mr. *Stanhope's* Representation to be true (that excepted which supposes the Court of *Spain* to have actually form'd Designs for an Attempt against the *British* Dominions in favour of the Pretender, and which the *English* Ministers know as well as I to be entirely groundless) I would leave to the Judgment even of *Englishmen*, who have the true Interest of their Country at Heart, whether these pretended Grievances might not have been adjusted, without Squadrons and hostile Operations? and yet, if join'd all together, they are not sufficient to involve the Nation in the Expences and Calamities of a War, the whole Burthen of which they are most likely to bear, and yet they the least likely to receive Benefit, even from the Success of it. (And tho' I have been told, that a Great Minister of theirs was pleas'd to declare) that if the Nation a few Years hence shall owe Fifty or Sixty Millions, yet they will consider, that the present

present Expence, and the Increase of their Debts will not be the worst Consequence of the War, for other-ways they may lose for ever some of the most valuable Branches of their Trade, which no Treaties can afterwards recover, when they are once got into another Channel, and that our Manufactures are established in other Countries.



A SPEECH



*A SPEECH against Sir R—— W——'s
Proposal for increasing the CIVIL LIST
Revenue: As it was spoken in the House of
Commons, July 3. 1727. By W—— S——,
Esq;*

I Agree with the Honourable Person who spoke first, That on His Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, there ought to be no other Contention among Us, than who should most contribute to His Service, than who should express their Duty, and Loyalty, in the most Respectful and the most Extensive manner. But then I hope he will agree with me, That this is to be done with some Regard to those we Represent: That this is to be done consistent with the Trust reposed in us, consistent with that Frugality, which this House is bound to use, whenever the Crown is pleased to call upon it, to exercise its Great Power of giving Money.

Now, notwithstanding what has been urged, I think we shall so far depart from this Rule of Frugality, as we exceed the Revenue granted to His late Majesty, whether that Exceeding shall amount yearly to Ninety Three Thousand Pounds, as computed at the highest by the Honourable Person, or to Above an Hundred and Thirty Thousand Pounds, as I have seen it, more truly computed by Another. For I remember very well, that the yearly Sum of Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds (tho' now thought too little) was not obtained for His late Majesty, without a long and solemn Debate; and it was allowed by every one that contended for it, to be an Ample Royal Revenue. Nor was it asked inconsiderately, and on a sudden; it was asked on mature Deliberation, after the Queen's Civil List Branches were found deficient; it was asked after many Computations had been made of every Charge requisite to support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, and to maintain the present Royal Family: It was asked after duly weighing, what Provision would be sufficient to answer all the ordinary and extraordinary Occasions of the Civil Government; what

what would be sufficient to answer all *Proper Augmentations of Salaries, all Reasonable and Charitable Pensions, all Secret Services at Home and Abroad*, necessary to carry on a just and wise Administration: It was asked by the Honourable Person Himself, and Others, who were entering into great Employments, who were going to taste of the Royal Bounty, and who therefore could not possibly be suspected to have any Design of cramping his Majesty, by a too contracted and narrow Revenue.

Nor does the late Alteration in the Royal Family call for any Increase of Expence. For if the Establishment for the Queen should be enlarged, whose Distinguished Character, and many Princely Virtues (taken Notice of in Your Address) entitle her to all Degrees of Grandeur, which any former Queen Consort ever enjoy'd; I say, if Her Establishment should be enlarged, I presume the Establishment for Prince FREDERICK will be much inferior to that settled on His present Majesty, when Prince of Wales. Besides, our ardent Wishes for His Majesty's constant Residence in these Kingdoms, and His Royal Intentions of making us a great and happy People, give us Hopes, that many Personal, many Particular Expences in the late Reign, especially those for frequent Journeys to Hanover, will be discontinued, and entirely cease.

Nor is it any Objection to the Reasoning of that Time, when the Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds were granted to the late King, or to the Computations then made, that This Sum is said to have been found by THE EXPERIENCE OF PAST TIMES, to be answerable to the Necessities of the Civil Government.

For THIS EXPERIENCE could not be found in the Queen's Reign, because Her Civil List Branches seldom amounted to Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, commonly to about Five Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds, and sometimes to a very little above Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, as appears by Accounts, formerly laid before this House, and I will not suppose those Accounts, which were brought from the Treasury to be otherwise than true, in Regard to my Honourable Friend—I ask Pardon—I should have said, the Honourable Person, for there is no Friendship betwixt us. But He must give me Leave to observe, That when He asserts, Her Civil List Branches amounted to above Seven Hundred Thou-

Thousand Pounds yearly, He can only mean the gross, and not the neat Produce, which is a very Uncandid and Fallacious way of Arguing.

*Tho' Her Revenues were so low, yet She called upon Her Parliament but once in a Reign of above Thirteen Years, to pay the Debts contracted in her Civil Government; and it is a Justice due to the Memory of That Excellent Princess, to remind Gentlemen of the unparallel'd Instances of Her Piety and Generosity, which occasioned those Debts. She gave the First Fruits and Tenths, arising now (as the Honourable Person says) to Nineteen Thousand Pounds a Year, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poor Clergy. She gave Five Thousand Pounds a Year out of the Post-Office to the Duke of Marlborough: She suffer'd Seven Hundred Pounds a Week to be likewise charged on the Post-Office, for the Publick Service, and by that Concession lost a vast Sum; the Additional Duty then producing only Eight Thousand Pounds a Year. She gave several Hundred Thousand Pounds for building the Castle of Blenheim. She allowed Prince Charles of Denmark Four Thousand Pounds a Year. She sustained great Losses by the Tin Contract. She supported the poor Palatines. These, with many other Royal Bounties * (which escape my present Remembrance) were the Reasons, that brought Her under a Necessity of asking for Five Hundred Thousand Pounds. But She was so sensible of the Inconvenience, and so determined never to apply to Her Parliament again in the like Manner, that She ordered a considerable Reduction to be made of Her Civil Government Expences. I have seen a Scheme of that Reduction, as it was actually settled a little before Her Death, and intended to commence the Lady-Day following. 'Twould be tedious to go thro' all the particular Articles of it, and I will only name three or four. The Cofferer's Office Payments were reduced from Eighty Five Thousand Pounds to Seventy Five Thousand. The Allowances for Foreign Ministers, from Seventy Five Thousand Pounds to Thirty Thousand. Pensions and Bounties from Eighty Seven Thousand Four Hundred and Ninety odd Pounds, to Sixty Thou-*

* She gave An Hundred Thousand Pounds to the Uses of the War.

sand. Secret Services from Twenty Seven Thousand Pounds to Twenty Thousand; a Sum surprizingly small! when compared with the late Disbursements on that Head. In short, the whole yearly Expences were designed to be Reduced to Four Hundred Fifty Nine Thousand Nine Hundred Forty One Pounds; and that would have been done, without eclipsing the Glory of the Crown, which some Gentlemen so roundly affirm, cannot Now be maintained under almost a Double Appointment.

From hence it appears plainly, that this Argument of THE EXPERIENCE OF PAST TIMES, can have no Reference to the *Queen's Reign*. It must therefore be applied (tho' put in the Plural Number) to the late Administration Only; and I confess, if the same Management was to be continued, if the same Ministers were to be again employed, a Million a Year would not be sufficient to carry on the *Exorbitant Expences*, so often, and so justly complained of in this House. For it is *Notorious*, it is Fresh in all our Memories, that besides the Yearly Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds, there have been many Occasional Taxes, many excessive Sums raised, and they have been all sunk in THAT BOTTOMLESS GULF OF SECRET SERVICE. First, the memorable Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds were raised (in Defiance of the ancient Parliamentary Methods) to secure us from the *Apprehensions of a Swedish Invasion*. Then the two Insurance Offices were erected in as Irregular a Manner, by a Bill brought into this House (at the latter End of a Session, and after the Committee of Supply had been closed) by the Honourable Person, on His Return into Power, and those BUBBLES payed near Three Hundred Thousand Pounds for their Charters. Then a new Scene of Affairs opening in Sweden, changed our Enmity into an Alliance; there was a Subsidy of Seventy Two Thousand Pounds implicitly granted to make good SOME SECRET BARGAIN, and Engagement with that Crown. At the same time, near Twenty Four Thousand Pounds were given for burning two Merchant Ships arrived from infected Places. But tho' the Goods as well as the Ships, were payed for by this House, that they might, without Injury to the Owners, be destroyed for the publick Safety, yet
most

most of them were *privately conveyed* into the Counties adjacent to the Port where the Ships lay, and sold there. Then soon after a Sum of Five Hundred Thousand Pounds was demanded and granted for the Payment of the Civil List Debts: On which Occasion His late Majesty declared in His Message, that He was resolved to cause a Retrenchment to be made of His Expences for the future. But notwithstanding that Resolution, in less than four Years (the Necessities of the Government having rendered the promised Retrenchment impracticable) there was a new Demand, and a new Grant of Five Hundred Thousand Pounds more, to discharge new Incumbrances. I might mention too the Spanish Ships which were taken in the famous Mediterranean Sea-Fight, and (as we have Reason to believe) sold for a considerable Sum of Money. Nor is it possible to forget the Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds, which we could only be told the last Session (in a general unexplained Article) were SECRETLY disposed of for the publick Utility, for the Conservation of the Peace of Europe, and for the Security of the Commerce, and Navigation of Great Britain.

After all these and other Extraordinary Supplies (I am informed) there yet remains a Debt in the Civil Government of above Six Hundred Thousand Pounds. If so, surely there must have been a most egregious Neglect of Duty, to say no worse; there must have been a strange Spirit of Extravagance somewhere, or such Immense Sums could never have been so soon, so insensibly squandered away. And it is amazing, this Extravagance should happen under the Conduct of Persons pretending to surpass all their Predecessors in the Knowledge and Care of the Publick Revenue: But we are not to wonder, that the World has been very free in its Censures, since none of these Sums have been accounted for, since they have been employed in Services not fit to be owned. None but those who were in THE SECRET, and who had the Disposal of them, can refute the Reflections that are made without Doors, not only on the Ministry, but even on both Houses of Parliament—I must say no more—— But I heartily wish, that Time (the great Discoverer of hidden Truths, and conceal'd Iniquities) may procure a LIST of All such (if

(if any *such* there were) who have been perverted from their *Publick Duty*, by *private Pensions*, who have been THE HIRED SLAVES, AND THE CORRUPT INSTRUMENTS OF A PROFUSE AND VAIN-Glorious ADMINISTRATION. If there have been none *such*, then the whole Weight, then the whole Guilt of the late *Mismanagements* lies on the *Ministers themselves*.

But it seems to be Matter of *universal Joy* to the Nation, that *the Case* is like to be altered. We hope we are arrived at a *Day of better O Economy*; we hope *such Practices* will be so far from being *imitated*, that they will be *detested and abhorred*. Nor can any one entertain the least Doubt of this, when he considers a *Prince is ascending the Throne*, who will choose a *knowing, faithful, and frugal Ministry*; who will not permit His *Domestick or Foreign Affairs* to be *negotiated* by *Bribery, and Corruption*, for want of *Sufficiency and Skill in Politicks*; Whose *Wisdom* will enable Him, and whose *Goodness* will incline Him, not only to *inspect the Management of His Civil List Branches*, but in *Justice* to His *Parliaments*, and in *Compassion* to His *People*, to *direct and require* a due and exact *Disposition of all the Other Publick Funds*, according to their respective *Appropriations*.

Now, in Consequence of this most just Notion of His Majesty's *Fragality* (which amongst other His *innumerable Virtues*, endears him so much to His *Subjects*) I hope I may without Offence, propose the Addition of *some Words to your Question*, that may restrain it to *Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds*; and in this I as much consult the *Service of His Majesty, and the Honour and Dignity of the Crown*, as Those, who are for granting the *Funds* without any *Restriction*. (For in my humble Opinion) *the Voting a greater Sum* than was settled on His late Majesty, is only *Voting an Indemnity*, is *Voting* at least in *Favour of Ministers*, whose *Conduct* (as I have already hinted) if laid before You, and duly examined, would perhaps rather deserve Your *Censure* than *Approbation*.

Besides, *the Surplus of these Branches* is appropriated to THE SINKING-FUND; and That, I thought, had been a *Sacred Depositum*, reserved for the *gradual Discharge of the NATIONAL DEBT*. I thought it would

would have been look'd upon as a *Sort of Sacrilege*, to have diverted the least Part of it (on any Pretence whatsoever) from its *original Uses*; and it is as surprizing to me, that *The Honourable Person* should be for destroying His own *Darling Project*; that He should be for pulling down *the boasted Monument of his Glory*, as it may be to others, that I am for supporting any *Scheme of His*, which might have transmitted His Name with *Advantage* to Posterity.

If His Majesty was rightly apprized of *these Circumstances*, He would doubtless rather be content with a *clear annual Revenue of Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds*, than suffer His *First Demand of Money* (by any *precipitate Proof of our Zeal*) to carry the least Appearance of being *burthensome to His People*, who have long laboured under the *Pressure of Grievous and Exorbitant Taxes*. For He has been graciously pleased to signify from the *Throne*, His *Fixed Resolution*,

“ By all possible Means to merit their Love and Affection, which He shall always look upon as the best Support and Security of His Crown.

I will detain You, Sir, no longer, but desire You would conclude *Your Question* with these Words:

“ In like manner as they were granted and continued to His late Majesty, which may make up the clear yearly Sum of Seven Hundred Thousand Pounds.



E A LETTER



*A LETTER from a Member of Parliament
to his Friend in the Country, concerning the Sum
of 115,000 l. granted for the Service of the
CIVIL LIST.*

S I R,

YOUR Questions to me concerning the late Grant of 115,000 l. upon Account of Arrears in his present Majesty's *Civil List Revenues*, will, in a great Measure, be answered by the inclosed *Protests*; wherein you will find the principal Arguments relating to that Matter clearly and fully stated; but as you desire a more particular Information upon some Points, than could be contain'd in Acts of that Kind, I shall endeavour to give you Satisfaction in this Respect; and in order to it observe how the *Civil List Revenues* were settled upon his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, and in what Manner they are now settled on his present Majesty.

By an Act passed in the 9th and 10th Year of King *William*, the Parliament settled upon him for Life for the Uses of his Civil Government a Sum certain, or Rent Charge of *seven hundred thousand Pounds per Ann.* to arise from several Duties and Revenues, which if they produced more than that Sum, the *Surplus* was to be reserved for the Disposition of Parliament; and if, by any Accident, they should fall short of that Sum within any one Year, there was no Obligation on the Parliament to make good any such *Deficiency*.

By another Act pass'd in the 12th and 13th of his Reign, the Parliament charged 192,400 l. *per Ann.* by a Deduction of 3700 l. *per Week* out of the hereditary and temporary Excess, Part of the Revenues granted to the King by the former Act, for raising a Sum of Money for the publick Services of the Year, and then left the Revenues and Duties to the King without Account for any *Surplus*, as well as without any Claim on the Publick to make good *Deficiencies*, it being well judg'd that

that there was no likelihood of a *Surplus*, after such a *Deduction*.

Upon King *William's* Death, the same Revenues were in the same Manner settled upon Queen *Anne* for her Life, charged likewise with the Expences of Management, and to be without Account, as to any *Surplus*, and without any Claim for a *Deficiency*: That they did not produce one Year with another, upon a *Medium*, during the whole Course of her Majesty's Reign, a clear Sum of 600,000 *l.* is beyond Dispute; and this Sum was charged as in the former Reign with 35500 *l.* for *Pensions* from which the *present Civil List* is discharged. The same Revenues were in the same Manner at first settled upon his late Majesty King *George*; but the Parliament soon after turn'd that Settlement into a Rent Charge of 700,000 *l. per Annum*, and took 120,000 *l. per Annum* out of the aggregate Fund, to compleat that Rent Charge, which was to commence from *Michaelmas* 1715; and if the Civil List Revenues, with that additional 120,000 *l.* produced more than the 700,000 *l.* the *Surplus* was to be accounted for to the Publick; and it was accounted for accordingly from Time to Time, and placed to the Sinking Fund; and upon a *Medium* of the whole Reign, one Year with another, has produced 65000 *l.* and upwards, and in the five last Years near 100,000 *l.* Upon this State of the Revenues it was propos'd, at his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, by the *honourable Gentleman*, who now presides at the Treasury, that the several Revenues and Duties settled for the Uses of the Civil Government in the late King's Reign, together with the 120,000 *l.* out of the aggregate Fund, should be granted to his Majesty, not in the Nature of a Rent Charge, but absolutely and without Account; it being asserted by the *same Gentleman*, that they would, in all likelihood, produce at least 800,000 *l. per Annum*, one Year with another; and one principal Motive for this Encrease of 100,000 *l. per Ann.* more than had been settled on the late King, was the making an *honourable Provision* for all the Royal Family. Thus it was proposed, understood, and agreed to, by the House; but when the Bill was brought in, there appeared the *Clause* which hath given Occasion to this late Dispute; how this Clause came to be inserted, since it

was not agreeable to the Resolution, on which the Bill was order'd to be brought in, nor directed by any subsequent Instruction, I shall not at present consider; but must assert, that such a Construction as is now put upon it was never apprehended, or could be conceived, by any one Gentleman then in Parliament, or even by those who inserted this Clause.

The Case stands thus: By the Act of the first of the King, *for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain*, his Majesty is to enjoy all the Civil List Revenues, with the 120,000 *l.* out of the aggregate Fund, without Account for any *Surplusses*, over and above 800,000 *l. per Annum*, however considerable they may happen to be in any Year; and yet the Publick, by a Clause in the same Act, is to make good *Deficiencies*; or as the Clause for giving the 115,000 *l.* has construed it, any *Arrears* of these Revenues standing out and not paid into the *Exchequer*, at *Midsummer Day*, to compleat 800,000 *l. per Annum*.

Now considering this Case on the Foot of a *Deficiency* only, the Disadvantage to the Publick will appear to be very great. The most considerable Branches of the Civil List Revenues are in the Nature of them, liable to vary from Year to Year; the Interruptions, or Decay of Trade and other Accidents must necessarily lessen the Produce of the *Customs*. Other Causes may in the same Year lessen the Produce of the *Excise*. The Publick is to make good the *Deficiencies*, and consequently the Taxes on the People are to increase as their Losses and Misfortunes do, and even on account of those very Losses and Misfortunes, and they are to pay more as they grow less able to pay at all; on the contrary, the Crown cannot in any Event, receive less than 800,000 *l. per Annum*, and may often have the Benefit of a *Surplus* from those Causes, which had brought a Burthen upon the People; for as the Importations are hindred in one Year, they will, according to Course of Trade, increase in another.

If then the Disadvantage to the People is so great, by their being only obliged to make good casual and real *Deficiencies*, how much greater must it be upon the present Construction of the Clause, by which it is asserted, that the Publick is obliged to compleat whatever

ever Sum is wanting of the full 800,000*l.* actually received into the Exchequer the very *Midsummer Day* the Year ends? Altho' there are Arrears standing out in Bills of Exchange, Money in the Receivers and Collectors Hands, more than sufficient to make up this Sum; and it is evident, that it is impossible the Taxes can be collected, much less remitted to the Exchequer in *London*, from all Parts of *Great Britain*, the very Day upon which they become due. These are such *Arrears*, as I believe there is not a Man in the Kingdom but will agree, that the Parliament, at the Time of passing this Clause, neither thought nor intended should ever be made good by the People. For these are such *Arrears*, as it is well known, must be unavoidable to a certain Degree in every Year, and may, at any time be increas'd by a *designing and corrupt Minister*, to any Sum he thinks fit; and this, without appearing to give Directions to the Officers of the Revenue; but by a bare Connivance only, by the Negligence of a Treasurer in not quickening Payments, or by forgetting for many Years whole Branches of the Revenue, as happen'd not long ago in the *memorable Case of the Hawkers and Pedlars*; so that, let the net Produce of the Revenues be never so great, these pretended Arrears are to be made good by the *Land-Tax*, or other Supplies of the Year. Thus, the well-known Author of a * Pamphlet, published in the Year 1713, may assume the Merit of having himself accomplish'd what he then foretold, and seem'd to apprehend very much, *that a Land or Malt Tax* might be made at last an *Hereditary Revenue for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown*.

There is another Method of making the Appearance of *Arrears*, when in truth there are none, or of making them seem more considerable than they really are, by anticipating part of the Revenues, and directing the paying Money out of the respective Offices of the Receipt of the Revenues, for the Uses of the Civil Government, before they are paid into the Exchequer; by which means a Parliament may be misled, as might have happened upon this Occasion, if some Omissions

* *Vid.* Pamphlet, *A short History of the Parliament.* Writ by R. ——— W. ——— Esq;

in the Accounts delivered by the *Secretary of the Treasury* had not been rectified by those called for by *other Gentlemen*.

This Practice is of the most dangerous Consequence to the Publick; for it subverts all the wise Regulations and Checks established by our Ancestors, for the due Collection and just and faithful Disposition of the Revenues of the Crown; since by this clandestine Manner of issuing them, the Payments do not appear upon the proper *Record*, as the Law requires; and the Revenues may consequently be easily dissipated, and not accounted for; and it will be very difficult to know certainly what the Produce or Receipt has really been, without making such a strict Scrutiny as a *conscious Minister* will either directly oppose, or endeavour to frustrate, by giving Directions to perplex, if not to falsify Accounts.

To state both these Cases in private Life: Suppose you had settled upon your Son an Estate which was to answer and satisfy to him every Year the Sum of 500 *l.* and that by a Contrivance between him and the Steward, the Son takes from the Tenants 100 *l.* before the Rent is paid to the Steward, and this Money never appears in the Steward's Account; is this to be deem'd a *Deficiency*, and the Father oblig'd to make it good? No; for it is manifest the Son, in this Case, would have 600 *l.* a Year; and is it not as plain in the other Case, that if at the End of the Year your Son had received only 400 *l.* in Money, tho' the Tenants had paid their full Rent, and the remaining 100 *l.* was standing out in a Bill of Exchange, or in the Steward's Hands in the Country, should you think yourself oblig'd to pay him the 100 *l.* nay, to pay it after he had actually received it in Money, by Payment of the Bill of Exchange, or from the Hands of the Steward? And yet this is exactly the present Case between the Crown and the People, as I shall shew presently; but I think it necessary first to acquaint you with the Steps taken upon this Occasion.

The first Step taken in this Affair, was by a Motion of the *Secretary of the Treasury*, for an Address to the King, that the proper Officers might be directed to lay before the House of Commons an Account of the *Produce* of the Civil List Revenues within the Year, from

Midsum-

Midsummer 1727 to Midsummer 1728, over and above the annual, weekly, or other Payments and Incumbrances thereon, over and above all Grants made by any of his Majesty's Predecessors.

Tho' the Design of this Motion was easily apprehended, yet it was a Surprize to many Gentlemen, that it should be made so late in the Session, and after the Recess of *Easter*, and when it was generally understood, that there was no farther Demand of Money to be made since it related to an Account said by the *Gentleman*, who made the Motion, to have been closed at Midsummer 1728, and consequently proper in every respect (if at all) to have been brought in very early in the Session, and to have been considered in a full House; but the Surprize of Gentlemen was still greater, when the Accounts were laid before the House, and it appeared that, contrary to the Words of the Address, and the King's Answer, they were made up, not upon the *real, Net Produce*, of the Revenues, but upon what was called the *Net Receipt* within the Year, and that this material Alteration was made by Directions from the *Treasury*, and by Letters writ to the several Offices by the *same Gentleman*, who had moved the Address for the *Produce*. It was therefore moved, that these Papers should be referred to a *private Committee*, with Power to send for such other Accounts, and to call before them and examine such Officers of the Revenue as they judg'd necessary, and then to report to the House a true State of the Fact, and whether it did appear to them that there really was such a *Deficiency* in the *Produce* of the Civil List Revenues, as the *Act* requires should be made good.

But this Motion was oppos'd by the *Gentleman at the Head of the Treasury*, and the *Secretary* who deliver'd these Accounts. When the Gentlemen, who made this Motion, were refused this Committee (an Indulgence, it was hoped, would have been thought reasonable in a Case of such Intricacy and Consequence) they then begg'd, that at least it might be consider'd in a *full House*; that all Leaves of Absence might be revok'd, and the Members summoned to attend, as had been usual upon Business of less Importance; but this was likewise refused, being opposed by the said *two Gentlemen*.

The Members, who had been so unsuccessful in these Motions, then moved for several Accounts from the Offices; and being afterwards apprehensive of not obtaining these Accounts in Time, they moved for the Attendance of the Commissioners of Customs and Excise, the Post-Masters General and other Officers of the Revenue, in order to have all the Light they could possibly obtain, in an Affair they thought of the utmost Importance.

I will not trouble you with the many Differences and Contradictions which there are between all the Accounts first deliver'd from the respective Offices, and the Account from the Exchequer, nor the particular Differences between them and the last Accounts which were called for, and are in some Instances very extraordinary; but you will see the Alteration they make in the general Balance of the Account, by the annex'd *Abstract*, which is farther undeniably confirmed by the remarkable Resolution which the House came to, after the Examination of the Officers of the Revenue, and comparing together the different Accounts brought upon this Occasion.

By the Account brought in and signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, the 115,000*l.* is stated as a *Deficiency*. In the *Resolution*, and in the Clause of *Appropriation*, it is called an *Arrear*, and an *Arrear to be replaced and refunded*. By the annexed Account you will find there was so far from being a *Deficiency*, that the Produce of the Year was 912,649*l.* of which 708,368*l.* was actually received in Money in *London* before Midsummer 1728. Received since in Money 128,115*l.* and standing out in Arrears in *April* last, 76,165*l.* which whenever they come in, must be accounted as the Produce of that Year, from Midsummer 1727 to Midsummer 1728. It does not indeed appear by the Accounts laid before the two Houses, at what times the Arrears were paid in, as it might have done, if all the Accounts called for had been given; but from the Nature of the Arrears, such as Bills of Exchange, Money in the Hands of Receivers, or Charges by them made in their Accounts for Duties incurred, it is certain the greatest Part must have been paid within Six Weeks, or sooner, after Midsummer 1728; so that the Crown gives Credit to its own Estate for a few Weeks only; whereas

whereas by this Clause, according to the most plausible Construction which has been endeavour'd to be put upon it, the Publick is to lend his Majesty 115,000 *l.* without Interest, during his Life; and how unlikely this Money is ever to be replaced, without a manifest Injury to the Servants and other Creditors of the Crown, at the time of the Demise, need not be explained to those who have felt or heard of Losses of the same kind upon the late Demise; and that some People never intend it should be repaid, I think appears plainly by their opposing the Motion that was made to repay this Sum out of the growing annual Surplus of the Revenues above 800,000 *l.* a Year.

I hope you will excuse my Endeavours to give you the fullest Information I could upon some Points; altho' it has unavoidably led me to some things which are much better exprest in the *Protests*. And now give me leave, in as short and clear a manner as I can, to set this Matter before you.

The Revenues granted to King WILLIAM, and granted only towards the End of his Reign, were limited to 700,000 *l.* and soon afterwards reduced. It is likewise certain, that those granted to the late Queen did not amount, one Year with another, to 600,000 *l.* out of which, in the first Eight Years of her Reign, she gave to the Use of the War, and other publick Occasions, above 700,000 *l.* The late King had 700,000 *l.* *per Ann.* out of which 100,000 *l.* was settled upon his present Majesty, then Prince of Wales. His present Majesty's Revenues are 800,000 *l.* *per Annum* at least; and it must be remembered, that the Grants of Pensions in former Reigns, amounting to 35,500 *l.* *per Ann.* which were paid out of the Civil List, during the Reigns of King WILLIAM, Queen ANNE and his late Majesty, until some few Years before his Death, and were then, by some Words inserted at the End of a Clause in a Revenue Act, charged upon the Publick; this Charge being therefore taken from the Crown, must be reckoned as so much Increase to its Revenue.

I shall now annex the Account, which I have collected from the several Papers laid before both Houses of Parliament; by which it plainly appears, that the *Produce* of the Civil List Revenues was sufficient to answer and satisfy, according to the Act of Parliament
the

the Sum of 800,000 l. and that there were no Arrears due to compleat that Sum, as the *Protests* of the Lords declares there were not, when the Grant was made of the 115,000 l.

The ACCOUNT.

	1.	2.	3.
By the Accounts sign'd and deliver'd by Mr. <i>Scrope</i> , the Secretary of the Treasury, there was allow'd to be received between <i>Midsummer</i> 1727, and <i>Midsummer</i> 1728,	684,407	10	10½
By Accounts afterwards called for by other Gentlemen, there appeared to be the following Articles omitted in Mr. <i>Scrope's</i> Account, and which ought to have been charged to the Receipt before <i>Midsummer</i> 1728,			
By an Account signed by the Commissioners of Excise paid to the Queen,	1870	00	00
By an Account from the Post-Office, the Net Receipt is more than is in Mr. <i>Scrope's</i> Account,	3814	12	03
The Receipt of the Wine Licences appears by the Exchequer Account to be more than charged in M. <i>Scrope's</i> Account,	1396	11	04
	23,961	03	07
Total of Net Receipt at <i>Midsummer</i> 1728,	708,368	14	05½

Receipt.

Received since for } 33013 08 104 Brought over
Customs, } 108 168 11 06

Ditto on Excise 778731.

5 s. 1 d. which after

the Deduction of

138921. 01. 14.2

paid to be Arrears of

the Duty arisen be-

tween the 11th of

June 1727, and Mid-

summer 1727, is,

Dirto at the Post-Office, 27120 02 08

Ditto Wine Licences, 2900 00 00

Ditto Small Branches, 6100 19 08

16 1/2 128.115

Total receiv'd in April 8-6-84 12 51

Total received in April, 838,464 16 7/8

Arrears standing out in

Appears standing out in the Customs.

the Clintons,
trears still in the Hands

of the Country Post- 6282 81 88 1881 beyond now in

Masters, and others.

76.165 07 04

Total of the Produce, ————— 912,649 17 7½

from the First to the 23rd

Even the King for Ar- } 117,000 00 00

years, the half of them

the half of 790227.

4 1/2 gals. in the Cu-
tom: charged by

Mr. Scribner's Account

Mr. Scrope's Account
for Draw-backs be-

between MIDSUMMER

between MIDSUMMER
1737 and MIDSUM-

MEB 1738, is by a Re-

If we add to this the Land Revenues, which are anticipated by Debentures, Fines and Forfeitures; the Sales of Wood, which were always accounted for in the late Queen's Time; the Principality of *Wales*; all the Civil List Revenues of *Scotland*; of all which there is neither any Account of Produce or Disposition; it must be granted, that the Revenues of the Crown, for this Year at least, were more than a Land-Tax at Two Shillings in the Pound.

Besides, as this Revenue was given for making an *honourable Provision for the whole Royal Family*, and his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* (who now, to our great Joy, is amongst us) continued abroad during this Year, the Expence of 100,000*l.* which was the Revenue his present Majesty enjoy'd, when Prince of *Wales*, was for this time saved to the Crown.

Before I conclude, I must acquaint you, that several of the most material Accounts not being brought in till late the Night before, and some the same Morning, it was moved that considering that there had been no Time for perusing them, and the Fatigue Gentlemen had undergone the Day before upon a very late Attendance on an Election at the Bar, it was moved that the farther Consideration of this Affair might be adjourn'd to another Day; but this was not agreed to; and after the Examination of the Commissioners of the Customs and Excise, the Post-master General, and the other Officers of the Revenue, which lasted till past Nine at Night, it was again proposed, with the same ill Success, to adjourn the farther Consideration of this Affair till the next Morning.





LIST

Of such as voted *for* or *against* granting 115,000 *l.* for making good the Arrears of the CIVIL LIST.

For.

SIR Robert Walpole, Knt,
of the Garter,
Right Hon. George Lord Vis-
count Malpas.
Right Hon. Lord Vere Beau-
clerk.
Right Hon. Lord Glenorchy.
Right Hon. Richard Lord Visc.
Fitzwilliams.
Right Hon. Lord James Caven-
dish.
Right Hon. Richard Lord Visc.
Castlemain.
Right Hon. Lord Viscount
Percival.
Right Hon. Lord Visc. Gage.
Right Honourable Henry Lord
Marquis of Carnarvon.
Right Hon. William Lord
Visc. Grimston.
Right Hon. William Lord Mar-
quis of Hartington.
Right Hon. John Lord Visc.
Galway.
Right Hon. Lord Charles
Cavendish.
Right Hon. Daniel Lord Finch.
Right Honourable Lord Henry
Powlet.
Right Hon. Lord William
Powlet.
Right Hon. Lord Nassau Paulet
Right Hon. Earl of Inchequin.

Right

Against.

Right Hon. James Lord
Visc. Limerick.
Right Hon. John Lord Visc.
Tyrconnel.
Right Hon. Henry Lord Visc.
Morpeth.
Right Hon. Walter Lord Visc.
Chetwynd.
Right Hon. William Lord Visc.
Vane.

George

*For.**Against.*

Right Hon. Lord William Beauclerk.	George Lewen, Esq;
Right Hon. Henry Lord Visc. Palmerston.	Sir Thomas Lee, Bart.
Right Hon. Richard Lord Shannon.	Harry Waller, Esq;
Right Hon. Joseph Lord Mic- clethwaite.	Thomas Lutwyche, Esq;
Hon. Pattee Byng, Esq;	Edmund Waller, Esq;
Sir William Yonge, Knt. of the Bath.	Sir John Cotton, Bart.
John Oriebar, Esq;	Thomas Sclater Bacon, Esq;
James Mercalfe, Esq;	Sir Richard Grosvenor, Bart.
Robert Hucks, Esq;	Robert Booth, Esq;
Hon. John Fane, Esq;	Edward Trelawny, Esq;
Philip Lloyd, Esq;	Philip Hawkins, Esq;
John Clavering, Esq;	Capt. Edward Vernon,
Hon. Thomas Townshend, Esq;	
Sir Robert Cotton, Bart.	
Tho. Clutterbuck, Esq;	
Coll. John Cope.	
Sir Edw. Catchbull, Bart.	
Anthony Cracherode, Esq;	
John Evelyn, Esq;	
John Harris, Esq;	
Edward Hughes, Esq;	
Thomas Hales, Esq;	
Coll. John Pytt.	
John Willes, Esq;	
Humphry Morrice, Esq;	
Charles Longueville, Esq;	
Sir Cecil Bishop, Bart.	
Hon. Matthew Ducie Morton, Esq;	
John Goddard, Esq;	
John Hedges, Esq;	
Robert Corker, Esq;	
Henry Knollys, Esq;	
Sir Robert Rich, Bart.	
Henry Kensall, Esq;	
Thomas Farrington, Esq;	
Hon. Tho. Herbert, Esq;	
Thomas Copleston, Esq;	
Hon. Coll. Cha. Howard.	
Hon. William Finch, Esq;	

Sir

Hon.

For.

Sir Charles Wills, Knight of
 the Bath.
 Dr. Exton Sayer.
 Hon. Robert Byng, Esq;
 Richard Edgecumbe, Esq;
 James Shepard, Serjeant at
 Law.
 Walter Carey, Esq;
 Sir Archer Crofts, Bart.
 James Nelthrope, Esq;
 Dennis Bond, Esq;
 William Chappel, Serjeant at
 Law.
 Thomas Pearse, Esq;
 Sir James Thornhill, Knt.
 James Pelham, Esq;
 Nathaniel Gould, Esq;
 Thomas Towers, Esq;
 Charles Talbot, Esq;
 Stamp Brooksbank, Esq;
 Henry Parsons, Esq;
 Hon. Coll. Henry Berkley.
 Charles Selwyn, Esq;
 Coll. George Read.
 John Birch, Serjeant at Law.
 Sir Geo. Caswall, Knt.
 Uvedale Price, Esq;
 Caleb Lomax, Esq;
 George Harrison, Esq;
 Coll. Roger Handafide.
 Sir Thomas Hales, Bart.
 David Polhill, Esq;
 Thomas Hope, Esq;
 Capt. Richard Evans.
 Sir George Saunders, Knt.
 Sir Henry Houghton, Bart.
 Christopher Towers, Esq;
 Sir Roger Bradshaw, Bart.
 Thomas Brereton, Esq;
 John Page, Esq;
 George Monson, Esq;
 William Clayton, Esq;
 Sir William Morgan, Knt. of
 the Bath.
 Waller Bacon, Esq;
 Robert Brittiff, Esq;

Against.

Hon. Hen. Vane, Esq;
 Gilfred Lawson, Esq;
 James Lowther, Esq;
 Sir Wilfred Lawson, Bart.
 Sir Nathaniel Curson, Bart.
 Thomas Pitt, Esq;
 John Fuller, Esq;
 Richard Reynell, Esq;
 Charles Howard, Jun. Esq;
 Edmund Pleydell, Esq;
 William Bowles, Esq;
 John Banks, Esq;
 George Bowes, Esq;
 Sir Robert Abdy, Bart.
 Thomas Bramston, Esq;
 Sir John Dutton, Bart.
 Peter Bathurst, Esq;
 Velters-----Cornwall, Esq;
 Sir Thomas Clark, Knt.
 Sir Tho. Seabright, Bart.
 Edward Worteley, Esq;
 Sir Robert Furnese, Bart.
 Hon. John Finch, Esq;
 Sir Edward Stanley, Bart.
 Richard Shuttleworth, Esq;
 Daniel Pulteney, Esq;
 William Shippen, Esq;
 Thomas Bootle, Esq;

Hon;

Coll.

Hon;

For.

Hon. Coll. Will. Townshend.
 Sir Edmund Bacon of Gilling-
 ham, Bart.
 Robert Jacob, Esq;
 Cha. Gounter Nichols, Esq;
 Coll. Will. Egerton.
 Sir Paul Methuen, Knight of
 the Bath.
 Hon. John Finch, Esq;
 Ralph Jenison, Esq;
 William Carr, Esq;
 Thomas Robinson, Esq;
 Lieutenant-General Sabine,
 George Liddell, Esq;
 Thomas White, Esq;
 Thomas Noel, Esq;
 Arthur Herbert, Esq;
 Richard Herbert, Esq;
 Samuel Edwards, Esq;
 John Plumbtree, Esq;
 John Scrope, Esq;
 Lieutenant-General Wade.
 William Peirce, Esq;
 Francis Fane, Esq;
 George Dodington, Esq;
 Francis Whitworth, Esq;
 Thomas Crispe, Esq;
 Robert Eyre, Esq;
 Sir John Norris, Knt.
 Sir Charles Wager, Knt.
 Paul Burrard, Esq;
 Coll. Maurice Morgan.
 Norton Powlet, Esq;
 George Huxley, Esq;
 William Fortescue, Esq;
 Martin Bladen, Esq;
 Joseph Hinxman, Esq;
 John Conduit, Esq;
 John Selwyn, Esq;
 Hon. James Brudenell, Esq;
 Hon. Charles Collyer, Esq;
 Richard Plummer, Esq;
 Walter Chetwynd, Esq;
 Sir William Thompson, Knt.
 Francis Negus, Esq;
 Sir George Downing, Bart.

Coll.

Against.

Hon. Sir Thomas Saunderson,
 Knt. of the Bath.
 Robert Vyner, Esq;
 Sir Richard Ellis, Bart.
 Henry Pacey, Esq;
 Hon. Robert Shirley, Esq;
 Sir Michael Newton, Knt. of
 the Bath.
 Hon. James Bertie, Esq;
 Francis Child, Esq;
 Sir John Eyles, Bart.
 John Bernard, Esq;
 Micajah Perry, Esq;
 Humphrey Parsons, Esq;
 John Hanbury, Esq;
 Joseph Banks, Esq;
 Hon. Geo. Compton, Esq;
 Nicholas Fenwick, Esq;
 Sir Robert Sutton, Knight of
 the Bath.
 Henry Perrot, Esq;
 Sir John Ashley, Bart.
 Richard Lister, Esq;
 John Weaver, Esq;
 Captain John Charlton.
 John Sambroke, Esq;

Hon.

For.

Coll. William Wyndham.
 Carteret Leathes, Esq;
 Hon. Stephen Cornwallis, Esq;
 Hon. John Cornwallis, Esq;
 Coll. Thomas Norton.
 Right Hon. Arthur Onslow,
 Esq;
 Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart.
 William Clayton, Esq;
 Coll. Richard Onslow,
 Henry Vincent, Esq;
 Paul Docminique, Esq;
 Right Hon. Hen. Pelham, Esq;
 Hon. James Lomley, Esq;
 Hon. Henry Ingram, Esq;
 Charles Eversfield, Esq;
 Sir Richard Mills, Bart.
 Thomas Pelham, Esq;
 John Gould, Esq;
 James Hoste, Esq;
 Thomas Bladen, Esq;
 Sir John Shelly, Bart.
 Hon. John Lumley, Esq;
 Hon. Anthony Lowther, Esq;
 Daniel Wilson, Esq;
 John Ramsden, Esq;
 Anthony Duncombe, Esq;
 Thomas Lewis, Esq;
 Hon. Robert Herbert, Esq;
 Hon. John Verney, Esq;
 George Heathcote, Esq;
 Townshend Andrews, Esq;
 Edward Ashe, Esq;
 Hon. Horatio Townshend, Esq;
 William Duckett, Esq;
 Roger Holland, Esq;
 Giles Erle, Esq;
 William Erle, Esq;
 Sir Thomas Read, Bart.
 Christopher Tilson, Esq;
 William Sloper, Esq;
 Sir William Willis, Bart.
 Mathew St. Quintin, Esq;
 John Cross, Esq;
 Thomas Gibson, Esq;
 Sir Thomas Littleton, Bart.

Sir

Against.

Sir William Wyndham, Bart;
 Thomas Horner, Esq;
 Sir Abraham Elston, Bart.
 Charles Lockyer, Esq;
 Michael Harvey, Esq;
 Joseph Taylor, Esq;
 John Chetwynd, Esq;
 James Wortley, Esq;
 Thomas Holmes, Esq;
 Hon. William Leveson Gower,
 Hon. Baptist, Leveson Gower,
 John Ward, Esq;
 Sir William Barker, Bart.
 Thomas Wyndham, Esq;
 Hon. Price Devereux, Esq;
 Samuel Lowe, Esq;
 Thomas Scawen, Esq;
 Sir Joseph Eyler, Knt.
 Right. Hon. Sir Joseph Jekyll,
 Knt.
 James Cocks, Esq;
 William Newland, Esq;
 James Ogleshorp, Esq;
 Joseph Danvers, Esq;
 John Knight, Esq;
 Hon. Edward Digby, Esq;
 William Peyto, Esq;
 John Neale, Esq;
 Sackville Tufton, Esq;
 John How, Esq;
 William Wardour, Esq;
 Gabriel Roberts, Esq;
 Charles Boone, Esq;
 Edward Little, Esq;
 Samuel Sandys, Esq;

F

Richard

For.

Sir Richard Lane, Knight.
 Thomas Winnington, Esq;
 Crew Offley, Esq;
 Edward Thompson, Esq;
 Richard Arundel, Esq;
 Sir William Strickland, Bart.
 Sir Conyers Darcey, Knt. of
 James Tirrel, Esq; [the Bath
 Hon. Henry Finch, Esq;
 George Westby, Esq;
 William Jessop, Esq;
 Sir Charles Hotham, Bart.
 Leonard Smelt, Esq;
 Sir George Oxonden, Bart.
 Josiah Burchet, Esq;
 Heroules Baker, Esq;
 William Glanville, Esq;
 Robert Bristow, Esq;
 Peter Walter, Esq;
 Sir Philip Yorke, Knt.
 Hugh Williams, Esq;
 Thomas Morgan, Esq;
 Sir Nicholas Williams, Knt.
 John Griffith, Esq;
 Thomas Wynne, Esq;
 Salusbury Lloyd, Esq;
 William Corbett, Esq;
 Thomas Lewis, Esq;
 Coll. John Middleton.
 Coll. James Campbell.
 William Smart, Esq;
 Sir James Campbell.
 Patrick Dunbar, Esq;
 John Campbell, Esq;
 Daniel Campbell, Esq;
 John Campbell, Esq;
 Alexander Brodie, Esq;
 Patrick Campbell, Esq;
 Coll. Sinclair.
 John Cockburne, Esq;
 James Grant, Esq;
 Coll. James Scott.
 Coll. John Hope.
 Patrick Heron, Esq;
 Lord Archibald Hamilton.
 Alexander Hamilton, Esq;
 Duncan Forbes, Esq;

Against.

Richard Foley, Esq;
 Sir John Rushout, Bart.
 Sir George Saville, Bart.
 Sir William Milner, Bart.
 William Aisleby, Esq;
 Charles Stanhope, Esq;
 Hon. George Berkley, Esq;
 Henry Furnese, Esq;
 David Papillon, Esq;
 Sir Robert Austen, Bart.
 Philip Gibbon, Esq;
 John Norris, Esq;
 Hon. Bussy Mansell, Esq;
 John Campbell, Esq;
 Erasmus Philips, Esq;
 Sir Archibald Grant, Bart.

N. B. To preserve that Impartiality, which hath been pursued in this short Narration; it is necessary to remind the Reader (as is before taken Notice of) that many Gentlemen were gone into the Country before this Demand was made in the House, and some were absent upon Accident or particular Business; especially the Right Hon. *William Poultney*, Esq; who, after speaking against this Demand, was oblig'd by *Illness* to leave the House, before the *Question* was put.

Die Sabbati 10^o Maij, 1729.

UPON Report from the Committee of the whole House, appointed to consider of the Bill in relation to Corn and Grain imported, &c.

It was moved, That the Words following, in the Clause for appropriating the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament, be left out of the said Bill, *viz.*

“ And it is also hereby further Enacted, That out of all, or any, the Aids or Supplies aforesaid, there shall, and may be, issued and applied, for, and upon Account of the Arrears of the several Duties and Revenues granted to his Majesty, by an Act made and passed in the first Year of his Majesty's Reign (Entitled, *An Act for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain*) any Sum, or Sums of Money, not exceeding the Sum of 115,000 *l.* in such Manner, and for such Uses and Purposes, as his Majesty shall from Time to Time be pleased to direct and appoint.

Provided always, and be it Enacted, by the Authority aforesaid, That in Case there shall be standing out, or in Arrear, at the Demise of his Majesty, (whom God long preserve) any Sum or Sums of Money, for, or on Account of the said Duties and Revenues, which, together with what hath been, or shall be, received out of the same, during his Majesty's Life, and, together with the said Sum of 115,000 *l.* shall be more than sufficient to compleat and satisfy to his Majesty during his Life, the yearly Sum of 800,000 *l.* per Ann. in clear Money, to be computed from the 25th Day

of June, 1727, then and in such Case, the said Sum of 115,000*l.* shall be replaced and refunded by, or out of such Sum or Sums of Money so standing out, or in Arrears, as aforesaid, as shall be more than sufficient to compleat the said yearly Sum of 800,000*l.* in clear Money, to be computed as aforesaid, or so much thereof, as the Monies arising thereby shall extend to satisfy the same; and that the Monies so to be replaced or refunded, shall be separated and kept apart in his Majesty's Exchequer, for the Use and Benefit of the Publick, and shall not be issued or applied to any other Use, or Uses, than such as shall be directed by Authority of Parliament.

Which being objected to,
The Question was put, Whether those Words shall stand Part of the Bill?

It was resolved in the *Affirmative*.

Dissentient.

1. Because we apprehend, that this Part of the Clause is neither founded on the Words of the Act to which it refers, nor warranted by any Construction thereof; for the Provision made in that Act is, that whenever the Produce of the several Duties and Revenues thereof granted, appears to be so *deficient*, that within one Year it shall not be sufficient to answer and satisfy the Sum of 800,000*l.* then, and not in any other Case, such *Deficiency* is to be made good out of the next Aids of Parliament. And this Act therefore provides only for a real Deficiency of the *Produce*, and not for any Arrear in the *Receipt* within the Year. As it has appeared by the Accounts laid before this House, that the real Produce was considerably more than sufficient to answer the Sum of 800,000*l.* we think there can be no Colour to affirm that there has been any such Deficiency as the Act can be supposed to provide for. This appears from the Words of the Clause, which directs the Application of the Sum of 115,000*l.* for, and upon Account of Arrears; and we cannot conceive the Arrears provided for by this Clause, and the Deficiency described in the Act, to be one and the same Thing. Since, if they could be so understood, the Provision in the Clause would have been made more agreeable to the Words of the Act, which relate to a Deficiency only; and it would be highly unjust to
his

his Majesty, to direct the Sum of 115,000*l.* to be refunded to the Publick at any Time, or under any Conditions: For if there had been a real Deficiency, the Grant to his Majesty should be absolute, and the Sum of 115,000*l.* would legally belong to him; so that this Clause either takes from his Majesty what we have no Right to take, or it gives him, what, as we apprehend, he has no Right to claim. As we cannot then consider this Sum to be given, either for a real Deficiency founded on the Civil List A&T, or that it can be warranted by the said A&T as a supposed Arrear; We conceive it to be as a *new Grant* to his Majesty, and a new Burthen on the People, which does not appear to us to have been demanded by the Crown; and consequently, not to have passed according to the Forms hitherto practised and requisite in all such Cases.

2. This Clause appears to us unreasonable on many Accounts. As there was no real Deficiency at *Midsummer*, 1728, to which Time the Account is stated, so neither is there any Arrear at the Time, when this new Supply is granted; but the whole Sum of 800,000*l.* and considerably more, was come into his Majesty's Coffers, and he was consequently in Possession of the very Money, the supposed Arrear of which is made good to him by this Clause. Thus it seems to us, that the Nation is loaded, not to compleat, but to augment the Sum designed for his Majesty's Civil List, and this at a Time when the publick Debts are increased, when the Taxes are heavily felt in all Parts of the Country, when our foreign Trade is incumbered and diminished, when our Manufactures decay, when our Poor daily multiply, and when many other national Calamities surround us. These Considerations are in themselves very moving, and we apprehend that they must appear stronger, when it shall be further considered, that his Majesty would be so far from wanting any of these extraordinary Supplies, that even without the Provision in the Civil List A&T for making good Deficiencies, he would be possessed of a far greater Revenue than *K. William*, *Q. Anne*, or even his late Majesty enjoyed; and yet his present Majesty, then Prince of *Wales*, received out of the Civil List Revenues, during the Reign of the late King, 100,000*l. per Ann.* besides the entire Revenues of the Principality of *Wales*,

and Duchy of *Cornwall*, whereas it doth not appear to us, that the like Sum of 100,000 *l. per Annum*, or even the Revenues of the Principality of *Wales* have yet been settled on his present Royal Highness.

3. We cannot but be extremely apprehensive of the many ill Consequences which may follow from a Grant of Money to the Crown, so ill-grounded, and so unreasonable, as we conceive this to be. The Advantage in Favour of his Majesty, established by the Civil List Act, is very great; since if the Produce of the Revenues granted and appropriated to the Use of the Civil List does not answer the yearly Sum of 800,000 *l.* the *Deficiency* is to be made good to his Majesty by the Publick; whereas no Provision is made, by which, if the Produce of those Revenues exceeds the Sum of 800,000 *l.* the Surplus shall accrue to the Benefit of the Publick. By this Precedent, not only real *Deficiencies* are to be made good, but Supplies are to be given for Arrears standing out at the End of every Year; and not only for Arrears standing out, but even for Arrears which shall come in before the Supplies can be granted, tho' the Supply given to make good Arrears in one Year, will certainly increase the Superpluses in another; when we consider the Method which has obtained, of anticipating the Revenues, before they come into the Exchequer, contrary to the ancient and legal Practice; when we reflect in what manner these Accounts have been made up, and in what manner they have been brought in, we cannot but apprehend, that a Door is opened by this Precedent for laying new and excessive Charges on the Nation; the Revenues appropriated to the Uses of his Majesty's Civil List, are subject, in their own Nature, to vary, and even where there is no *Deficiency* in the Produce, there may be Arrears in the Receipt. These Arrears may easily be increased by the Management of designing Ministers, by private Directions to Receivers, and by artful Methods of stating the Accounts; from all which, we cannot but apprehend, that now this Precedent is made, we may have frequent Accounts of Arrears, and a grievous, and even intolerable Load may be brought on the Nation in a short Time; and we are persuaded that his Majesty can have no Satisfaction in finding his Court abound in Wealth, whilst

he may undergo the Mortification of seeing his People reduced to Poverty; neither can we conceive that the latter Part of the Clause is in any degree an adequate Provision against the Evil we complain of, or the Apprehensions we entertain; for an Account to be made up at his Majesty's Demise, will not prevent the Consequences of this Precedent during his Life; and as we hope that his Reign will be long, so we may be allowed to fear, that even during the Continuance of it, this extraordinary Method of encreasing his Majesty's private Revenue (already very ample) may prove a Source of general Discontent, which is but too apt to produce general Disaffection.

Plymouth

Boyle

Scarsdale

Willoughby de Brooke

Northampton

Montjoy

Gower

Strafford

Oxford and Mortimer

Warrington

Litchfield

Bachurst.

Coventry

Beaufort

Die Lune 12^o Maij 1729.

Hodie *tertia vice lecta est Billa*, Entitled, "An Act to ascertain the Custom payable for Corn and Grain Imported, for better ascertaining the Price and Quantity of Corn and Grain, for which a Bounty is payable upon Exportation, for appropriating the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament; and for giving further time to Clerks and Apprentices to pay Duties omitted to be paid for their Indentures and Contracts.

The Question was put, whether this Bill shall pass?

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient.

1st. Because we conceive there will accrue less Detriment to the Publick, by rejecting this whole Bill, than agreeing to it with that part of the Appropriation Clause, which enacts the Sum of 115,000 *l.* to be given to his Majesty, for, and upon Account of Arrears in the Civil List; since it would have been easy, had this Bill

been rejected, to have provided for the general Appropriation of the several Aids granted in this Session of Parliament, in some other Manner.

2^{dly}, Because the Revenue for defraying the Expences of his Majesty's Civil Government, being considerably more ample than that of his Predecessors; we flatter'd our selves that the Publick would not have been called upon again in so short a Time, to make an Addition to that liberal Provision for the Crown, tho' there had been some small *Deficiency* in some of the Duties appropriated to the Service of it: But this, in our Opinion, is so far from being the Case, that we are firmly persuaded, if we had agreed to this Bill, with that Part of the Clause, we should have consented to a Grant of a new Aid, and not to make good the *Deficiency* on an old one; since it seems evident to us, that the Produce of the Civil-List-Fund in the first Year of his Majesty's Reign rather exceeded than fell short of 800,000*l.* even from those Accounts deliver'd into the House, which we believe will be universally allow'd to be free from any Suspicion of Error in Favour of the People.

3^{dly}, Because we look upon this to be not only a Grant of a new Aid, but a Grant made in such an irregular Manner, without being demanded by the Crown, that it cannot but give Us Reason to think, that however it may be wanted by the Ministers, it may possibly not be desired by his Majesty.

4^{thly}, Because the literal Interpretation of Part of the Act for settling the Civil List Revenues on his Majesty, which was contended for, in order to justify that Part of this Claim, to which we object, seems to us liable to Consequences very dangerous to the Properties of all the Subjects, by putting it into the Power of those who have the Management of the Publick Money, to give the Crown a Title to the Arrears of the Civil-List-Funds; though perhaps left on purpose in the Hands of the Receivers, and to a Parliamentary Supply for those very Arrears too.

5^{thly}, Because the Argument, which was used for passing the Clause, from the smallness of the Sum, seems to Us a much stronger Reason why it should not be asked, than why it should be granted.

6^{thly}, Be-

6thly, Because we observe, that whenever a Supply for the Civil List hath been ask'd in Parliament, it hath caused great Uneasiness in the Nation, tho' demanded from the Crown it self; and upon Pretences in our Opinion more justifiable, and at times, less unreasonable than this; when, notwithstanding our most prevailing Methods of Negotiation, the Fate of *Europe*, as far as we are enabled to judge, is still in Suspence, and we labour under Difficulties that unavoidably attend such a doubtful, and undetermined Situation of our Affairs abroad; when the Complaints of the People at home are general and loud, and as we fear, too well founded on Account of their Poverty and other Calamities, with which they have been long afflicted, and when for that Reason it appears to Us to be not only a proper Clemency, but true Policy too, to avoid giving them the least Ground to apprehend, that the Parliament by laying unnecessary Burthens upon them, may itself become one of their Grievances.

7thly, Because this Attempt, when we consider it in all its Circumstances, as far as appears to us, is without Example, and we dread lest it should be made one, and laid hold of as a Precedent hereafter, if ever the Nation should have the Misfortune to see a lavish, weak and rapacious Ministry, armed with great Power, desirous to raise such extraordinary Supplies in Parliament, in such extraordinary ways, more in reality to support their own inconsiderate and pernicious Schemes, than the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

Scarsdale

Boyle

Gower

Northampton

Oxford and Mortimer

Willoughby de Brooks

Litchfield

Strafford

Warrington

Bathurst

Beaufort

Plymouth

Montjoy

Coventry.



The

The other PROTESTS for the Year 1729.

Die Martis 18^o Martij 1728.

THE Order of the Day being Read, for taking into further Consideration the State of the Nation;

It was moved to resolve, That it is the Opinion of this House, that for the Honour of his Majesty, and the Preservation and Security of the Trade and Commerce of this Kingdom, effectual Care should be taken in the present Treaty, that the King of *Spain* do renounce all Claim and Pretention to *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*, in plain and strong Terms.

After Debate,

The Question was put thereupon; and it was resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient.

1st, Because we think our Right to a Place of such Importance to our Commerce, should be secured by more than a general Stipulation, which may be liable to different Constructions, and will probably be interpreted by the *Spaniards* in their own Favour, however we may interpret them in ours.

2^{dly}, Because the King of *Spain* having claimed it by his Ministers, several times, not only from the late King's positive Promise, as he asserts it to be, but from our Forfeiture of it too, by our Infraction of those Conditions on which they gave it up to us; and having actually besieg'd it, since he yielded it up to us by Treaty, it seems reasonable to us, that we should insist upon his making his Renunciation of it, in Words as plain and strong as he made his Claim to it, especially since, as far as we have heard, our Plenipotentiaries have not been able to prevail upon him, to shew any Inclination to relinquish his Pretensions to it, during the long Course of these perplexed Negotiations, in which we have been unskilfully (as we fear) and we are sure, we have been, unfortunately involved.

3^{dly}, We

3dly, We think it is incumbent upon us to take particular Care, that our Right to it should, not in the least, be precarious, because we apprehend we have great Reason to fear, that the King of *Spain's* Allies are very desirous to have it again in his Hands, and no Reason at all to believe, that our own Allies are solicitous to have it continue in ours. If there should be the least Room left, upon a Peace, for the King of *Spain's* Pretentions to it, from any loose or doubtful Expressions, we are apprehensive, it may lay a Foundation for Uneasiness and Animosity, and might interrupt a perfect Harmony between us, and a Nation, whose Friendship must always be of the greatest Advantage to us; we think our Zeal to preserve our Title to it, in that most effectual Manner, we proposed, would have terrified any wicked Minister, even from the Thoughts of giving it up, if ever we should be in such wretched Circumstances, as to have any who might think a War more dangerous to themselves than the Nation, and who might for that Reason be tempted to purchase an inglorious Peace, at the high Price of so valuable a Part of the *British* Dominions.

Beaufort

Berkshire

Litchfield

Strafford

Scarsdale

Coventry

Craven

Gower

Oxford and Mortimer

Boyle

Bathurst

Montjoy

Abingdon

Foley

Plymouth.

Weston

Willoughby de Brooke

Die Veneris 18^o Aprilis 1729.

THE House (according to Order) proceeded to take into further Consideration the State of the Nation.

And the Residue of the Papers (read in part Yesterday) which were laid before this House, as well in Relation to the Squadron of Ships sent to the *West Indies*, as to the Depredations, &c. made by the *Spaniards* on his Majesty's Subjects in *America* being read,

It was proposed to resolve, That it appears to this House, that the Expence of the Squadron sent to the *West*

West Indies under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Hofier*, having been borne by this Nation alone, tho' designed to prevent the *Spaniards* from seizing the Effects belonging to his Majesty's Allies, as well as his Subjects, which were on Board the Flota or Galleons, and from applying the Treasure to disturb the Peace, and invade the Liberties of *Europe*, has been an unreasonable Burthen upon this Kingdom.

After Debate,

The Question was put thereupon; and it was resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient

I. Because we conceive that our Allies were at least as much concerned as ourselves, to prevent the *Spaniards* from disturbing the Peace, and invading the Liberties of *Europe*, if there was at that Time sufficient Foundation to apprehend such Attempts on the Part of *Spain*; and because our Allies (the *French* in particular) had a much greater Share in the Effects of the Galleons, than the Subjects of this Nation, and by Consequence, were much more concerned in Interest to prevent the King of *Spain* from seizing those Effects.

II. Because we not only took the whole Charge of this Expedition upon ourselves, but have increased our National Forces, taking great Numbers of foreign Troops into our Pay, and contracted to pay divers Subsidies to foreign Princes, when it has not appeared to us in any authentick Manner (as we apprehend) that our Allies have taken upon themselves any Expence porportionable to this, in consequence of the *Hanover* Treaty.

III. Because we are convinced, That the National Expence and Losses occasion'd by this Expedition, do not only very far exceed any Interest which the Subjects of this Nation can be supposed to have in the Galleons, but have likewise been much more considerable, than any Detriment which has accrued to *Spain* by delaying the Return of the Galleons.

IV. That by taking this Expedition solely upon ourselves, we drew the whole Resentment of the Court of *Spain* upon this Nation, and gave the *French* an Opportunity of healing those Breaches which had been made
between

between those two Courts, of acquiring a greater Share than ever they had, in a most Beneficial Trade, and of acting rather the Part of Mediators, than that of Parties, in the Disputes.

V. We cannot help being of Opinion, That this Burthen was the more unreasonable, since it doth not appear, that this Expedient has had the Effect of obliging the *Spaniards*, clearly, to adjust the Points in Dispute between us, or effectually to secure to our Merchants, a just Satisfaction, for the great Losses which they sustained by the Seizures and Captures made by the *Spaniards*.

Beaufort
Strafford
Craven
Foley
Litchfield

Scarsdale
Gower
Montjoy
Plymouth
Bathurst

Northampton
Coventry
Oxford and Mortimer
Willoughby de Brooke.

Die Lune 5^o Maij, 1729.

THE Judges (according to Order) delivered a Bill prepared by them, upon the Debate of the House, Entitled, " An Act to disable *Thomas Bambridge* Esq; to hold or execute the Office of Warden of the Prison of the *Fleet*; and to empower his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, during the Life of the said *Thomas Bambridge*, to grant the said Office, to such Person or Persons as he shall think fit.

And the same was read the first Time.

Then it being moved, That the Bill be now read a second Time:

The same was objected to.

After Debate,

The Question was put, Whether this Bill shall be now read a second Time?

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient.

I. Because the reading any Bill twice the same Day, is against the standing Orders of this House; which which ought not to be broken but in Cases of the utmost

utmost Necessity, and even in those Cases, ought first to be considered in a full House, or else absent Lords, as well as the Parties concerned in Bills, may be surprized.

II. Because we do not conceive there was the least Necessity or Occasion for reading this Bill twice in one Day.

III. Because we are apprehensive this may be brought as a Precedent hereafter, to proceed in too hasty a Way to pass Bills, which divest Men of their Properties, and lay Incapacities upon them during Life.

Warrington

Coventry

Strafford

Haverham.



The



The DREAM from MIST.

THERE is placed in human Nature a vast Curiosity for looking into Futurity, and it may, perhaps, be this Curiosity which first gave Faith to Dreams;—however that be, it is certain, that the Belief of Dreams has, in all Ages, had many Profelites among the People, and sometimes even Persons of superior Understandings have given into the Weakness.

Thus much may be said for it, that when the Body is at Rest, when all the Senses are unemployed, the Soul is more at Liberty to range about for Objects to entertain it self with; therefore, *Montagne* says, that the Sleep of the Body is the *Waking of the Soul*; then it is (says he) that the Soul reasons above herself, and is, as it were, inspired.

Poets have composed Comedies in their Dreams, and laughed at the fancy'd Representation of them till they have waked;—and a certain Author says, he would chuse to study in his Sleep, because he always observed more noble Thoughts to arise in his Dreams than at any other Time.

But there is one Objection to be made against this Method of Study, for when we awake we have it in our Power to think on what we please, but we have not the same Command over Dreams; and this (which may be a Reason against our setting the Hour of Sleep apart for Study) might induce the Ancients to believe, that the Ideas which visited our Minds in Dreams might be the Warnings of some good Genius watching for our Welfare, or the Inspirations of some Divinity—*Pythagoras* must think there was something more than ordinary in them, when he prescribed a certain Course of Diet to prepare Men for Dreams;—but let us see what our Poet, *Dryden*, has left us upon this Subject.

Our Morning Dreams foreshow
Th' Event of Things, and future Weal or Woe.
Of Daniel you may read in holy Writ,
Who, when the King his Vision did forget,
Could Word for Word the wond'rous Dream repeat.

Nor

*Nor less of Patriarch Joseph understand,
 Who by a Dream enslav'd th' Egyptian Land;
 The Years of Plenty, and of Dearth foretold,
 When for their Bread their Liberty they sold.
 Nor must th' exalted Butler be forgot,
 Nor he whose Dream presag'd his hanging Lot.
 And did not Croesus the same Death foresee?
 Rais'd in his Vision on a lofty Tree;
 The Wife of Hector, in his utmost Pride,
 Dreamt of his Death the Night before he dy'd;
 Well was he warn'd from Battel to refrain,
 But Men to Death decreed are warn'd in vain,
 He dar'd the Dream,—and by his fatal Foe was slain.*

Thus the Poets fancied, that there were Genii, of a Rank superior to Mankind, who visited their Dreams, to warn them of some Dangers, and to divert them from such wrong Measures; as must end in their Destruction, if pursued. This, we hope, will be sufficient to justify a Man for telling a Dream, an Infirmary which others are apt to fall into, without making any Apology; and it may shew whether we have not as good a Talent at Dreaming as any of the modern Writers.

Methought I found my self upon the Summit of a little Hill, from whence I had a View of the most fertile and beautiful Country I had ever seen; the Vallies were enrich'd with a plentiful Harvest of all Kinds of Grain, the labouring Trees bow'd with their Weight of Fruit, the Mountains were cover'd with innumerable Flocks of Cattle, and the happy Swains, by their cheerful Looks, seem'd to make Sport of their Labour; the Rivers mov'd with Boats, and the Sea presented me with a Prospect of Ships sailing in and out of the Ports, whose Numbers were not to be counted.

As I was resolv'd to wander about, in order to gratify myself with the Variety of pleasing Objects with which the Scene abounded, I had not gone far before I enter'd upon a fine Plain, encompass'd thick on all Sides by aged Oaks; there were several Trees of a smaller Size, so ranged and disposed within, that they gave it the Form of a Theatre;—there I was surprized with the Sight of a most beautiful Matron, sitting upon a kind of Throne, or Altar (for I could scarce distinguish which) her Robes were white as Snow, they appeared magnificent, but not gaudy: She was surrounded

rounded by a Company of the most graceful Personages that Imagination could form,—— methought they look'd like an Assembly of *Philosophers*, *Lawgivers*, and *Heroes*—— Upon a Cushion, near her right Hand, was placed a Pair of *Golden Scales*, which some of the illustrious Persons, who attended her, seem'd to guard with watchful Eyes.

I could think no less than that she was the Divinity of the Place;—and at first imagin'd her to be the Goddess *Ceres*, because, where-ever I had turn'd my Eyes there appeared a Face of Plenty.—— Again it came into my Head it might be *Astrea*, or Justice, the Scales being the Emblem of that Goddess; but when I approached nearer, I could not help thinking that she was the exact Resemblance of *Britannia*, as she is represented in the Works of good Painters.—— What induced me the more to fix in this last Opinion, was, that I fancied the Countenances and Habits of her Attendants were perfectly *English*—— I thought I could distinguish the black Prince——the *Talbots*, the *Sydneys*, and the *Veres*, were to be found amongst them——and I knew the great Sir *Thomas Moore* perfectly from the Idea I had of his Face, by seeing his Picture done by *Holbens*.

But to take up the Thread of my Story—— At a Distance from her appeared a Groupe of Figures, who, by their different Countenances and Habits, seem'd to be a Mixture of *French*, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Dutch*, and *Germans*; a loud Buz was heard amongst them, and now and then I had the Sight of a furious Woman, her Hair stood erect, her Eyes were fierce, and her Features distorted, she appeared very busy, running about, sometimes whispering one, and sometimes another, till she set them altogether by the Ears—I enquired who she was, and learned her Name was *Discord*—— When *Britannia* beheld from afar the Contentions this Fiend had rais'd, she called aloud, and commanded *Peace*—— *Discord* constantly vanished at the Sound of her Voice, and all was quiet.

This was no sooner done, but the Strangers of different Nations moved with great Respect towards the Throne of *Britannia*, where they presented their Demands and Grievances: She took up the Golden Scales, and began to weigh their contended Rights; sometimes

she found one Scale too heavy, and sometimes the other, but she never rested till she brought the Beam exactly even; upon which, the Strangers retired with the same Respect they came, and acquiesced in her Decree.

Casting my Eyes upon the Company, I perceived that several of the grave Personages, who stood nearest to the Matron, were gone off, and were succeeded by others who did not carry so much Reverence in their Looks——In a little Time these disappeared also, and a third Troop stood up, of worse Aspects than the former; a fourth succeeded, of more malevolent Looks than any I had seen before; among the last was one who appeared like a Statue of Stone, or rather Brass, but by his Motions I perceived he was a Man, but of a more clumsy Mein, and confident Countenance, than any other present; there was one Thing very remarkable in his Person, his Hands resembled the *Claws of a Harpye*——This Person Placed himself nearest the *Golden Scales*, being attended by a Crowd, with sneaking Looks, who seem'd obedient to his Nod.

I judge it was his Post to guard the *Golden Scales*, but whether it was so or no, he retired from thence, and going to the Place where the Matron's Treasure lay, he fell greedily to grasping it with his Claws, and cramming it into his Pockets; his fawning Band followed him, and endeavour'd to cover him from Sight, to every one of whom he gave a little of what he stole.

In the mean Time the *Scales* being left unguarded, were lost——no Body could tell what was become of them; the Matron herself interrogated the *Man of Brass* What he had done with them? He, with a Laugh of Assurance, told her, he was sorry she was mad, for to his Knowledge, she never possess'd such a Machine as a Pair of *Golden Scales*——While this Discourse was going on, certain *Strangers* came to pay their usual Court, but missing the *Scales*, they turn'd their Backs upon her.

As I was surpriz'd at this Change of Behaviour, I could not help following them to know the meaning of it; but before I could be inform'd, we saw the *Scales*, at a little Distance, held up in the Hands of a beautiful Youth, his Countenance was in all its Bloom; but he was not arrived to that Strength which constitutes a Manly Beauty; his Robes were white, embroidered

all

all over with Flower de Lucys, Thousands of all Nations flock'd about him to pay their Respects, but what shock'd me, was, to see *B——* amongst the Crowd of Suitors.——No great Notice was taken of her, she saw herself despised, and wept for Grief.

As my Indignation was rais'd against the *brazen Man*, I mixt with her Attendants, and endeavour'd to spirit them up against him; some of them boldly demanded of him the Recovery of the Scales, putting him in Mind of the Injunctions laid upon them by their Fore-Fathers, never to part with those Scales, because there was a kind of Charm in them which brought Respect and Power to those who possessed them; he answered with another Laugh, and said, that he had a Project that would gain her more Wealth and Respect than the Possession of a thousand Pair of Scales—— And what should this Project be, but to make her turn *Rope-Dancer*; immediately he and his Associates fell to erecting a Rope,——they fix'd one End of it in *Fr—ce*, and the other in *Holland*, and forced her much against her Inclination to mount.

It was a melancholy Thing to behold a Matron, who had long maintained so majestick a Character, now forc'd to play Tricks like a Buffoon, and become the Sport of all Nations—— She was seen from afar, which drew a Crowd of Men near her; they were dress'd in short Cloaks, with long Swords, their Faces were Sun-burnt, and they wore Mustachoes;—— they imagined some Frenzy had seiz'd the Dame; however, as they urg'd she must fall, they thought they might as well catch her as any other, and for that Purpose placed themselves under the Rope;—— the *French* finding she did not tumble so soon as they expected, were about to let down the Rope, that she might come sliding towards them,——but she saved herself this Time, by throwing them a Purse of Gold—— This being perceived by the *Dutch*, they were going to do the same Thing——they were also diverted by another Purse—— Then advanced a Parcel of People with big Heads, and heavy Countenances, like *Germans*, who, by the Help of a Ladder, threatned to cut the Rope in two, and suffer the Crowd to scramble for her; she was obliged to drop another Purse to them.

At this Instant she called out in a Fright for Help, and ask'd, if there were none of her Sons among the Crowd to help her down, and rescue her from this Danger and Disgrace?—Of a sudden a resolute Band stood up, as if raised from the Dead; they first seiz'd the *Man of Brass* and bound him, then possessing themselves of the *French End* of the Rope, they took her down.

When she found herself upon firm Ground, she began to examine herself, she felt her Strength wasted, her Treasure lost, and her Garments rent; well, says she, *so much for Rope-dancing*, how foolish and vain a thing must it be to attempt so dangerous an Exercise as Rope-dancing, *when it is the Interest of those who hold the Rope that we should tumble down.*

At this Word I was waked, by the Bawling of a Wench in the Streets, calling out, *A Hue and Cry after Polly Peachum*; so that I did not see what became of the *Golden Scales*, or *Man of Brass*.



The NORFOLK CONGRESS: Or, a Full and True Account of their Hunting, Feasting, and Merry-making; being singularly delightful, and likewise very instructive to the Publick.

HUNTING and FEASTING are both celebrated in Holy Writ. *Nimrod* was a mighty Hunter before the Lord; and the hairy *Esau* is said to be a cunning Hunter. Kings and Princes have delighted in this Sport in all Ages; and the *Two most eminent Persons* of this our Day are now Hunting; one of them at *Fontainebleau*, and the other in *Norfolk*. Feasting is likewise so far from being contrary to our Religion, that we find the *Israelites* often commanded to make solemn Feasts or Festivals, viz. The Feast of Harvest, the Feast of Tabernacles, with many others too tedious to be enumerated.

Forasmuch therefore as it hath been always customary in this Kingdom, for *Great Men* in Times of publick Prosperity, to give Feasts unto the People, and make publick Rejoicings, so it doth behove all such as are sufficient for the Purpose, aptly to describe, and with proper Phrase, and gorgeous Shew of Words, to set forth such Magnificence, that the Memory thereof may not be lost to After-Ages.

Many plentiful Entertainments hath our Friend *Hollingshead* served up in his delightful History, particularly one of the Archbishop of *York*, and also many of the famous Cardinal *Wolfey*, who when he went to his Country-Seat, took so many of the Nobility and Gentry with him (who were indeed all a kind of Menial Attendants) that he left the Court almost like a Desert, and the King his Master seem'd quite neglected.

But how sumptuous soever the Entertainments were of this proud and haughty Cardinal, we shall not find them in any Degree of Comparison with that which we are now attempting (tho' I fear, with barren and sapless Style) to describe.

Reasonable indeed is it, that *Great and Able Men*, who by their Industry and Application have procured

many *Blessings* to their Country, should sometimes relaxe their Minds, and share those *Blessings*, which they have been the Means of procuring.

Who therefore, if his Heart doth not burn with *Envy* and *Malice*, can enter the House of this *Great and Good Man*, now sojourning and merry-making in *Norfolk*, without saying, *Peace be within these Walls?* for he hath procured *Peace* unto the Kingdom. Who is there that doth not rejoice at the *Plenty* that is within his Palace? for *he hath strewed Plenty over the Face of the Land*. To him our present *Tranquillity* is owing, and the steady Happiness of our present *Circumstances*. Thro' his Care the *Husbandman* soweth with Profit, and the *Merchant* saileth with Safety. How comfortable likewise is it unto the People, to see their *Governours* indulge themselves in *Ease, Diversions, and Pleasures*, which, like the Playing and Singing of *Mariners*, is a sure Sign that the Ship is safe, and in a *Calm*?

This great *Feast, or Festival*, certainly exceedeth all that ever went before it, both in Respect to its *Plenty* and *Politeness*; for if we regard the Number and Value of the *Horses*, the *Staunchness* and *Goodness* of the *Hounds*, or the *Wit* and *Humour* of the *Company*, we shall be at a Loss to know which merits most our Commendation: For from this *Society* might be called Persons, for their *Wisdom* and *Valour*, fit either to compose a *Cabinet-Council*, command *Fleets* and *Armies*, or be *Plenipotentiaries* at any Congress in *Christendom*. But above all, let us commend the *Cooks*; for the *Cooks* of *Norfolk* have been eminent for many Ages.

Proceed we now to give some Particulars of this noble Entertainment.

The *Breakfast, or Preliminary Course*, is made up of cold *Venison Pasties, Hams, Tongues, Tea, Chocolate*, with a Mixture of many other *Delicacies*; in-somuch that it hath been generally called an *Ambigu*, which being interpreted in our Language, signifies something doubtful in its Nature, or which no body knows what to make of. At this Course the Conversation run chiefly upon hunting a *Vixen*, or *She-Fox*, which they were determined to pursue thro' all the *Brakes, Thick-Woods* and *Covers*, she could lead them. They got on Horseback, and resolved to ride over Hedge and Ditch after her, not regarding the *He-Fox* that belong'd

to her, who kept always burrow'd in his *Earth*, and never stirr'd abroad.

After a very long and wearisome Chase, they found that they could make nothing of this same *Vixen*; for she baffled all their Hounds, and tired them and all their Horses. By way of Excuse, they pretended, that during the whole Chase, a large *Eagle* flew over her Head, and protected her from the Dogs. The *Chief Huntsman* tells an incredible Story. He says, that he saw this *Eagle* once make a Stoop to a foundling Child that lay in the Way, and that he fed the Child with *Bologna Sausages*, in the manner that we often see it represented in our Signs. But the Huntsman being known to be a great Gunster, the Company did not seem inclin'd to believe him.

The Dinner consisted of many Hundred Dishes, all replete with the most excellent Viands, of great Prodigiousness, and delicious Flavour: To express the Sumptuousness, or Variety of it, is impossible. But some of the most remarkable Dishes will I adventure to relate.

In the first Place, there was an *Hotch-Potch*, which consisted of *Westphalia Bacon*, *English Beef*, *Dutch Pickle-berrings*, and *French Truffles*. It seem'd very strong, but few People relish'd it; for it could not sit well on their Stomachs.

Over-against this was plac'd a *Spanish Oglio*, with an huge *Ostrich* in the middle of it. It was made chiefly with *Garlick*, *Giblet-hare*, and many other Ingredients, all seasoned with certain Spices from the *East-Indies*.

There was also a *Peace-soup*, fill'd with Balls of *Forc'd-meat*.

A *Cardinal* (which is a most rare Fish, often mention'd by HORACE, tho' scarcely known in *England*) was plac'd supereminently on a Ring of Gold, in the midst of the Table, and round it was seen many *Gudgeons*.

Next came a pompous *Pye*, with a young *Cockeril* upon it, curiously form'd in Paste, with an *Olive-Branch* in his Mouth, signifying, as the Neighbours would have it, the *Peace* which the young King of *France* was to give to *England*; for *Gallus*, as we have been inform'd, in the ancient Language of the renowned *Romans*, signifieth both a Cock and a *Frenchman*.

There was likewise a *Prussian Wild Boar's Head*, with an *Orange* in his Mouth.

The *Master of the House* himself fed chiefly upon *STOCK-Fish* and *PLUMB-Dumpling*. On one Side of him stood a Porringer of Viper-broth, and on the other a Bisk of *Pigeons*, denoting the *Wisdom of the Serpent*, and the *Innocency of the Dove*.

The Sallad consisted entirely of *SALLARY* and *PENNY-ROYAL*, which all the Guests devour'd very greedily.

There was one Dish that shock'd many of the Spectators, which was an *English Collar of Brawn*, stuck with *French Lilies* instead of *Rosemary*. At this many were offended, and said the Times were hugely changed with our *Landlord*, and his *Taste* and *Way of Living* strangely altered; for they remember'd when he had like to have overturn'd the whole Table, upon seeing some *French Kickshaws* upon it, which he said was Poison to an *English Constitution*. But now, forsooth, nothing but *French Sauces* will go down, and he loves every thing garreen'd, but particularly *Tongues*, when they are so, which we should call *corrupted*.

But how vain would be an Attempt to describe the whole of this Entertainment? All was elegant, sumptuous, and polite, that no *Desert* ever appear'd at it. The *Wines* which came from all Parts of the World, were, like the Master, *rich* and *generous*. *Burgundy* and *Norfolk Nog* were equally plenty, and all the Neighbourhood were invited to partake of it, except the poor *Handy-CRAFTSMEN*.

Now what can we do better at the End of this our little History, than to pray for the Prosperity of this Great Feaster and his illustrious Family?

THE PRAYER.

PREVENT Them therefore, O Lord, in all their Doings: Turn their Hearts, and enlighten their Understandings, that from henceforth, knowing whose Ministers they are, and whose Authority they bear, they may bring forth the Fruits of good Living, to the Honour and Glory of his Majesty, and the Safety of these Kingdoms; and may that Peace, which passeth all Understanding, make them Hang together in Unity and A-Cord, and let all the People say, Amen.

The

The History of the NORFOLK STEWARD.

S I R *George English*, our *Landlord*, is lately dead; and being a good-natur'd Gentleman, he is generally lamented, tho' he lived but little among his *Tenants*, and had been used to leave the whole Management of his Estate (the finest and most improveable in our County) to his Steward Mr. *Lyn*. The *Tenants* shewed an uncommon Joy upon the Succession of his Son, our *present Landlord*, to his Father's Estate, which was intailed upon him; and their Joy was reasonable and just, not only as young *Sir George* is, in the Opinion of every Body, one of the finest Gentlemen in *Europe*, and qualified every way to make a Figure in the World; but likewise my Lady is high in their Esteem; she is the best natur'd and most hospitable Woman in our Country, and beloved by every Body; she delights to talk with Freedom and Humility to the Poor, and, as the Country Folk say, has not one Bit of Pride about her: Besides this, she is the Mother of several most beautiful and well educated Children, which gives us a Prospect of good *Landlords* for ever: Another thing that very much contributed to heighten the Satisfaction of the poor *Tenants*, was the Hope they had conceived that Mr. *Lyn* wou'd now be removed, and some other Person, they did not care who, so he had the Character of an honest Man, and cou'd write and read, and cast Accounts, put in his Room. They had many Reasons to desire that Mr. *Lyn* might not be continued *Steward of the Mannor*. First, they said he was grown *immensely rich* upon the Estate in a few Years, and that too, tho' he was very *profuse*; and they believed that he had squandered a great deal of *theirs* and their *Landlord's* Money; that he had been notoriously convicted of *bribing Juries*, and had given large annual Sums of Money to *meritless Persons*; that he had persuaded their late Master, *Sir George*, to grant away *Reversions* in prejudice to the next in the Entail; and lastly, that as the Estate of *Sir George* was by a *Law-suit* (commenced in the time of one of his Ancestors, which proved long and

and expensive) charged with a *heavy Debt*, several of the wisest amongst the *Tenants* had proposed a Method of freeing his *Estate* in time from this Incumbrance, by applying all the *Surplusages* or *Savings* of it, after necessary *Expences* were satisfied, towards the discharging of this *Debt*. They likewise proposed that this *Money* shou'd be kept in a particular *Box*, and *lock'd up*, and the *Key* thrown away, never to be applied to any other Purpose, upon any Pretence whatsoever; but Mr. *Lyn*, they said, had broke open this *Box*, and gutted it; and when he was found out, said he had applied it to *secret Service*; a Cant-Expression always used by him when he had committed *Felony*. Now when Mr. *Lyn* was, on *Court-Days*, called upon to audit his *Accounts*, he wou'd rise, and with a Sneer upon his *Bronze Features*, give a florid Answer to the Demands made upon him, and publicly condemn the unfashionable Folks, who talked against *Corruption*.

The *Tenants* had now for some time lived in Peace, and without any Trouble from the *Lawyers*, tho' they frequently heard from Mr. *Lyn* of one *Esquire Welch*, who, he said, had set up a Title to Sir *George's Manor*, and was coming to claim it in Person, and from time to time delighted to fright the *Copyholders* with a Story that *Esq; Welch* was about to serve them all with *Ejectments*; and because the *Esquire* was known to be very poor, and had not one *Acre of Land* in the World, he said he was assisted by the old *Ld. Pantoufle*, a very rich Man in *Lancashire*, who was very litigious and warm in his Interest. Upon these Occasions, he always demanded Money to fee *Council*, and defend his *Master's Title*; and as from time to time he wanted more Money, this Claim of Mr. *Welch* was always the Pretence.

When now, from talking of *Law-suits*, and the Feeling he had in *imaginary* ones, he fancy'd it might not be unprofitable or undelightful to be engaged in a *real one*; upon this, he took it into his Head to quarrel with two honest and very wealthy Neighbours of Sir *George's*, Sir *Charles Thicklips* and Lord *Raff*, tho' they were Gentlemen with whom Sir *George*, as a Merchant, used to trade to very great Advantage; and tho' he knew his Master must every way, let the *Suit* go how it would, be a *great Loser*, the first thing Mr. *Lyn* did, was to order his Servant to shut up Lord *Raff's Barn Door*,

Door, and not to suffer any Corn to go in or out for some time; as for Sir Charles, he swore by God he should not come to any Market he used, nor sell or buy one penny worth of Goods any where.

After this, Master Lyn declared publicly that Sir Charles and Lord Ruff had engaged to defend Mr. Welch's Title, and to put him into Possession of Sir George's Estate, tho' both the Gentlemen denied it upon their Honours. At length, Things were run to so great a length, that Sir Charles and Sir George gave one another the Lye publicly; and Lord Ruff demanded a Windmill which stood upon his own Estate, to be immediately given up to him, tho' he had no manner of Right to it, having before solemnly quitted all Pretences to it; so that it had been Sir George's Estate, and in his Possession for several Years. However, he actually commenc'd a Suit, and several Heads were broken and bloody Noses given by the Tenants on both Sides in the Fray, when they came to demand Possession.

Mr. Lyn, who always knew how to manage Broils to his own Advantage, immediately rais'd and rack'd the Tenants, under Pretence of defraying the Charges of the coming Law suit; for it was always his Method to make other People pay for the Disturbances he occasion'd; but now the Tenants, on all Sides, clamour'd, and the neighbouring Gentlemen, who did by no means approve this litigious Humour of Mr. Lyn, were alarmed; upon which Mr. Dyke and Mr. Dumont undertook to make up these Differences amicably; they were for delivering up the Windmill for Peace sake, and so was good Mr. Lyn; but the Tenants, to whom the Mill was very convenient, and who had the Honour of their Landlord very much at Heart, declared that Sir George should never part with it, while they could raise a Shilling to go on with the Suit; and the Chief among his Tenants sent him Letters to this Purpose: However, a Reference was agreed upon, and Mr. Dyke and Dumont were Referees.

Now the Reasons that inclined these Gentlemen to give up the Mill were, that it enabled Sir George's Tenants to grind their Corn, and sell it cheaper than they could, and lay upon a large navigable River. What should Mr. Lyn now do? He found himself in an odd Scrape; if he gave up the Mill, the Tenants would pull him

him to pieces; if he did not, the *Referees* would join in the *Law-suit* against his *Master*; to stave off this Evil, he thought of an *Expedient* the most ridiculous, I think, that ever was practised, and which even a little tricking *Norfolk Attorney* would have blush'd at; in a Word, he had recourse to *Nonsense*; he contrived that the *Second Article of Reference* (which we believe was intended to have declared that the *Rights* of the *Party claiming*, and the *Party in Possession* of the *Windmill*, should be determin'd absolutely by the *Referees*) I say, he contrived that this *second Article* should be worded, in such *obscure* and *unmeaning Terms*, that no Person could possibly *understand* it; this indeed made People gape and stare, and many were so modest at first, as rather to be diffident of their own *Understandings*, than to imagine that a *solemn Act* of that Concern, and drawn by *pro-fess'd Lawyers*, should be so worded as to convey *no Idea*.



From

From the CRAFTSMAN, December 21,
1728.

IT is strange what subtle Artifices the Wit of Man will make use of, to carry on Correspondences, where it is dangerous and difficult to keep them up by the ordinary Methods. The most ingenious Stratagems of this Kind are practised in the *Eastern* Countries, where probably the Genius is more lively and refined, and the Imagination of Mankind is quicker than in our *Northern* Parts of the World. It is a common Practice to send Letters from very distant Places by *Pigeons*, which I believe every Body will agree is a more expeditious, and perhaps a safer Way too of sending them than by our *General Post*. *Cyphers*, we know, are frequently made use of to convey treasonable Correspondences between *Conspirators*; and in *Seraglio's* a whole amorous Intrigue hath been often carried on by sending *Nossegays* backwards and forwards, where a proper Disposition of Colours, and particular Arrangement of the Flowers have been made to speak the Lover's whole Mind, and convey every tender Sentiment, which he wished to breathe into his Mistress's Ear.

I have lately read of a political Stratagem of this Kind in an old Fragment of *Sanhoniathon*, with which I was extremely pleased. The pompous *Eastern* Style, which is visible throughout the whole, is a Proof of its Antiquity, and adds, in my Opinion, a graceful Solemnity to the Narration, which runs in this Manner.

In the second Year, in the ninth Month, and on the 21st Day of the Month, of King *Amphicrates*, Ruler in *Samos*, it happened that there was a certain Man, formerly a Servant to the Kings of this Country, who being sorely afflicted in Spirit to see the Kingdom become

come ruinous and desolate, and his Prince abused and betrayed, resolved to attempt some Means of rescuing his Master, whom he honoured, from the Hands of those wicked Men, who were bringing his Affairs to Destruction; and of preserving his Country, which he loved, from the Calamities and Miseries, with which it was threatned. He wanted to speak with his Master, but could not find any Opportunity; for he was encompassed around on every side by his Enemies, and invironed by *Those* who had watch over him. What to do in this Distress he knew not. A strenuous Opposition to the Measures in which his Master was engaged, might, he feared, raise Factions amongst the People, and possibly even Disaffection to the Person of his Sovereign. An Acquiescence under them was certain Destruction to his Country. How to behave in this Perplexity was very difficult. At length he bethought himself of the following Stratagem. He was apprized that his Master frequently took Delight in reading certain *Papers*, wherein the ingenious Men of his Kingdom used now and then to exhibit Instruction and Entertainment to the Publick, without exposing their Names. He thought, that in one of these, he might without Suspicion, address himself to his Master. He took his Pen, and feigning a Story of *Ithobaal*, King of Tyre, who had been most basely and infamously betrayed by his *Ministers*, he contrived to make *another Person* speak his Sentiments, and the very Words which he had a Mind to utter to his *own Prince*; and by these Means, from the Abundance of the Grief of his Heart, and in the Sincerity of his Soul, He spake to his *King*, just as if he had been alone with him in his Closet, in the following Words.

“ O King, live for ever. Thy Servant truly loveth thee. His Heart is overwhelmed with Grief to see thee thus abused. Thou art good; but thy Ministers are wicked. Thou meanest the Welfare and Prosperity of thy People; but they seek their Destruction. They lead thee into Darkness, and not into Light. They have no Regard for thine Honour; neither have they Respect for thy Posterity. *Corruption* is in their Hearts, and *Arrogancy* cometh out of their Mouths. The People of the Land have they used with Oppression, and exercised Robbery. They are like
“ Wolves

“ Wolves raving for Prey. They have taken Gifts,
 “ and greedily gained of the People by Extortion. The
 “ People of the Land have they used with Violence.
 “ The *Nobles* bow to them for Gold, and the *Commons*
 “ crouch to them for Pieces of Silver. Why is their
 “ Corruption hid from thine Eyes, and why are not
 “ their Misdoings laid before thee? Behold, thy Power
 “ is, as it were, their own Power. All Applications
 “ are first made to them. Whatever Good is done, or
 “ whatever right Thing is approved, they assume the
 “ Merit of it to themselves. Whatever Wrong is
 “ perpetrated, or whatever Oppression is felt, the
 “ Load of it is, by them, laid upon thee. The *Favours*
 “ which, thro’ thy Power, they bestow, are all their
 “ own. The *severe Denials* which, in thy Name, they
 “ give, are all thine. The *Employments* which, in
 “ Justice, ought to be equally distributed amongst thy
 “ loyal and affectionate People, are all confined to
 “ the narrow Bounds of their own Family. Men are
 “ not raised for their Duty and Allegiance to thee;
 “ but for Adulation and Dependance upon them. Dost
 “ thou not see them endeavouring to out-vye thee in
 “ Splendor, Riches and Attendance? Thy Country is
 “ well nigh ruined; oppressed with Debts; exhausted
 “ by Contributions; loaded with Taxes; sunk in Cor-
 “ ruption. How doth the City sit solitary, that was
 “ used to rejoyce? Once it was the Pride of the World.
 “ The Reputation of it was great over the Face of
 “ the whole Earth. Its Trade flourished. Its Riches
 “ abounded. Its Credit was established. Its Glory
 “ was transcendent. Now, without one visible Mis-
 “ fortune, no Battle lost, no Blow struck, no unhap-
 “ py Accident befalling us, the Reputation of it is sunk,
 “ the Trade of it is lost; the Credit of it is gone; the
 “ Glory of it is faded away. It is brought into Con-
 “ tempt by the Nations round about it, and is become
 “ a Reproach to all that pass by.

“ Why did we desire the Assistance of other Nati-
 “ ons? Why did we depend upon the Friendship of
 “ those, who can mean us no Good? Can they, whose
 “ Interest it hath always been to annoy us, make it now
 “ their Glory to assist us? What good Genius can
 “ have made them in an Instant such generous Friends,
 “ who have ever been formerly such dangerous Ene-
 “ mies?

" mies? They who placed their Rest in our Troubles,
 " will they now apply their Cares for our Repose?
 " We let them become, as it were, Masters of our
 " State, by suffering them to be Arbiters of our Dif-
 " ferences; and whilst they act the Part of Mediators,
 " they cast Oil and Wood into the Flames to increase
 " them. What Occasion had we for the intermeddling
 " of Strangers? Are they more versed in our Interest
 " than we ourselves? Are they more sensible of our
 " Injuries, than we who suffer them? If Peace be
 " profitable, have we need of their Assistance in pro-
 " curing it? If it be hurtful, shall their Advice tie up
 " our Hands? If the Peace be feasible, why should we
 " leave the Glory of it to others? If impossible, why
 " lose Time in making *vain Propositions* and in *fruit-
 " less Congresses*? Why should we acquaint strong and
 " ambitious Neighbours with our Views? Why should
 " we trust them with the Secret of our Forces? must
 " Tyre, which hath, in Times past, compelled *Aegypt*
 " to beg Peace, be now constrained to purchase it of
 " her? Must one of the most considerable, and, till
 " lately, the most flourishing Monarchies of the World,
 " serve for matter of Sport to the Vanity of that trea-
 " cherous Nation, on whom we now depend, and
 " suffer them to usurp the *Balance of the East*? *Nature*
 " teaches us the Policy we should observe. She hath
 " separated us from all Nations by a vast and deep
 " Trench; thereby silently instructing us that the Prin-
 " ciple of our Subsistence is within ourselves, and that
 " we never ought to embarrass our own Affairs with
 " the Disputes of the *Continent*; nor submit our In-
 " terest to the Arbitriment of others.

" Believe me, Sir, these are fatal Truths, and the
 " present miserable Situation of our Affairs is not
 " owing to unlucky *Accidents*, but to *weak Negotiations*.
 " Be assured that it is not the Consequence of
 " unhappy Events, which has reduced thy Kingdom to
 " these Difficulties, but that it was the original Inten-
 " tion of those *faithless Allies*, to whom thou hast
 " trusted, and was foreseen by every Body but those
 " *weak Ministers*, on whom thou hast depended.
 " *Aegypt* hath obtained the End of her Policy. The
 " Distress of thy Kingdom was her principal Design;
 " and the Ruin of our Trade was her only Aim.
 " Shouldst

" Shouldst thou suffer thy wicked *Ministers* still to
 " go on in their Abominations, my Soul trembleth to
 " think what may be the Consequence. They may
 " at length, lead thee into such inextricable Difficulties,
 " that scarce any one will undertake the hazardous
 " Task of delivering thee from them. Thou may'st,
 " by their Management, be left without a true *Friend*
 " at Home, as by their Negotiations I fear thou art
 " without a sincere *Ally Abroad*. Their Iniquities
 " (which God forbid!) may one Day possibly prove
 " dangerous even to thee. Thy People's inveterate
 " and just Hatred of them may, shouldst thou continue
 " to support them, be converted into Disaffection to
 " thy Person. And when they see that, which every
 " good Subject dreads, they will be the foremost to
 " turn against thee, nor will they be the first *Ministers*
 " in this Country, who, when their Misdeeds have
 " brought their Master to Extremities, have made those
 " very Misdeeds the Means of Favour and Merit with
 " the Successor. Believe me, that whilst they out-
 " wardly seem to adore thee, in their Hearts I know
 " they hate thee. Thou art, in Publick, the Object
 " of their Adulation. In Private thou art too often
 " the Subject of their Mirth and Derision. Believe
 " them not; for they are false. Trust them not; for
 " they are perfidious. Lean not on them; for they
 " are broken Reeds. Arise. Exert thyself. Deliver
 " us out of their Hands; and pour forth thy Wrath
 " upon them. Do unto them according to their Ways,
 " and according to their Deserts let them be judged;
 " and let them know that *Thou art King*.
 " Assert thy Right. Vindicate thine Honour. Estab-
 " lish thy Power. Save thy Country.

This Speech roused such a Spirit in the Breast of
 this *good* and *just* King, and kindled such a Flame
 within him, that he immediately sent a Guard, seized
 their Persons, and secured their Papers. On this, the
 People gave one general Shout. An universal Gladness
 filled their Hearts. The *City* rejoiced with exceeding
 Joy, and all the People cry'd aloud, LONG LIVE
 THE KING! MAY HIS DOMINION
 BE ESTABLISHED FOR EVER.

When these *weak* and *wicked Men* were cast down, whole Multitudes came in, complaining of their Oppression, and offering Evidence of their Transgressions. *Witnesses*, without End, appeared to make out their Corruption, and Instances innumerable were produced of their Guilt. Infomuch that even they who thought the worst of them, were surprized at the black Enormity of their Iniquities.

Immediately after their Disgrace, *Plenty* was restored. *Credit* revived. *Traffick* began again to flourish. The *People* were happy, and the *King's Throne* was established in *Peace* and *Glory* for many *Generations*.



The Speech raised such a Spirit in the People of
 it was and just King, and divided them a Land
 which was, that he immediately sent a Guard, to
 their Persons, and secured their Papers. On this the
 People gave one general Shout. An universal Clamour
 raised their Hearts. The City rejoiced with exulting
 and all the People cry'd aloud, LONG LIVE
 THE KING. MAY HIS DOMINION
 BE ESTABLISHED FOR EVER.

The Progress of PATRIOTISM. A Tale.

SIR *Ralph*, a simple rural Knight,
 Could just distinguish Wrong from Right,
 When he receiv'd a Quarter's Rent,
 And almost half in *Taxes* went:
 He rail'd at *Places, Bribes and Pensions,*
 And *Secret Service*, new Inventions;
 Preach'd up the true old *English Spirit*,
 And mourn'd the great Neglect of *Merit*;
 Lamented our forlorn Condition,
 And wish'd the Country would *petition*;
 Said, he would first subscribe his *Name*,
 And added, 'was a burning Shame,
 That *some Men* large Estates should get,
 And fatten on the *Publick Debt*;
 Of his poor Country urg'd his Love,
 And shook his Head at *Those above*.

This Conduct, in a private Station,
 Procur'd the *Knight* great Reputation;
 The Neighbours all approv'd his Zeal,
 (Tho' few Men *judge*, yet all Men *feel*)
 And with a general Voice declar'd
 Money was scarce, the Times were hard;
 That what Sir *Ralph* observ'd was true,
 And wish'd the *Gallows* had its due.

Thus blest in popular Affection,
 Behold! there came on an *Election*,
 And who more proper than Sir *Ralph*
 To guard their Privileges safe?
 So, in Return for Zeal and Beer,
 They chose him for a *Knight o' th' Shire*.

But mark how *Climates* change the Mind,
 And *Virtue* chops about like Wind!
 Duly the *Knight* came up to Town,
 Resolv'd to pull *Corruption* down,
 Frequented Clubs of the *same Party*,
 And in the Cause continu'd hearty,

Broach'd his Opinions wet and dry,
And gave some *honest* Votes away.

At length, in that *old spacious Court*,
Where *Members* just at Noon resort,
Up to our *Knight Sir Bluestring* came,
And call'd him frankly by his Name;
Smil'd on him, *shook him by the Hand*,
And gave him soon to understand,
That tho' his Person was a Stranger,
Yet that in Times of greatest Danger,
His faithful Services were known,
And all his Family's here in Town,
For whom he had a great Affection;
And wish'd him Joy of his Election,
Assur'd him that his Country's Voice
Could not have made a better Choice.

Sir Ralph, who, if not much bely'd,
Had always some Degrees of Pride,
Perceiv'd his Heart begin to swell,
And lik'd this Doctrine mighty well;
Took Notice of his Air and Look,
And how familiarly he spoke,
Such Condescensions, such Professions,
Remov'd all former ill Impressions.

The *Statesman* (who, we must agree,
Can far into our *Foibles* see,
And knows exactly how to flatter
The *weak blind Sides* of human Nature)
Saw the *vain Wretch* begin to yield,
And farther thus his Oil instill'd.

Sir Ralph, said he, all Forms apart,
So dear I hold you to my Heart,
Have such a Value for your *Worth*,
Your *Sense* and *Honour*, and so forth,
That in some Points, extremely nice,
I should be glad of your Advice;
Let me, good Sir, the Favour pray,
To eat a Bit with me to Day;
Nay, dear *Sir Ralph*, you must agree—
Your *Honour's Hour*?—exactly Three.

These Points premis'd, they bow and part
With Hands press'd hard to either Heart:
For now the publick Business calls
Each Patriot to *St. Stephen's Walls*;

Whether

Whether the *present Debts* to state,
Or on some *new Supplies* debate,
Would here be needless to relate.

From thence, at the appointed Hour,
The *Knight* attends the *Man of Pow'r*;
Who, better to secure his Ends,
Had likewise bid some courtly Friends,
His Brother *Townly* and his *Grace*,
Great *Statesmen* both, and both in Place;
Our *British Horace*, fam'd for Wit,
Alike for *Courts* and *Senates* fit;
Sir *William* from his early Youth,
Renown'd for *Honour*, *Virtue*, *Truth*;
And *Bubble*, just restor'd to Favour,
On Pardon ask'd for late Behaviour.
The *Statesman* met his *Convert-Guest*,
Saluted, clasp'd him to his Breast,
Then introduc'd him to the rest:

Whilst he, with Wonder and Amaze,
The Splendor of the House surveys;
Huge China Jars, and Piles of Plate,
And *modish Screens* and Beds of State,
Gilt Sconces, of stupendous Size,
And costly Paintings strike your Eyes,
From *Italy* and *Flanders* brought,
At the Expence of Nations bought;
Yet doth not one of these relate
The tragick End of R—s of State;
Although such Pictures might supply
Fit Lessons to the *Great Man's* Eye:
But *o'ergrown Favourites* dread to think
From whence they rose, and how may sink.

Dinner now waited on the Board,
Rich as this City would afford;
(For every *Element* supplies)
His Table with its Rarities)
The Guests promiscuous take their Place,
Pro more, without *Form* of *Grace*;
There might the little *Knight* be seen
With *Ribbons blue*, and *Ribbons green*,
All complaisant and debonair,
As if the King himself were there.
Obsequious each consults his Taste,
And begging to be serv'd the last,

Points round by Turns to every Dish;
Will you have Soup, Sir Ralph, or Fish?
This Fricassee or that Ragoust?
Pray, Sir, be free and let me know.

The Cloath remov'd, the Glass goes round,
 With loyal Healths and Wishes crown'd;
 May King and Senate long agree!
 Success attend the Ministry!
 Let publick Faith and Stocks increase!
 And grant us, Heaven! a speedy Peace!

Discourse ensues on *Homebred Rage*,
 That rank distemper of the Age;
 And instantly they all agree,
 They never were so blest'd; or free;
 That all Complaints were nought but *Faction*,
 And *Patriotism* mere *Distraction*,
 Though full of *Reason*, void of *Grace*,
 And only meant to get in *Place*.

Sir *Ralph* in Approbation bow'd;
 Yet own'd that with the giddy Crowd,
 He formerly had gone astray,
 And talk'd in quite another Way,
 Possess'd with Jealousies and Fears,
 Dispers'd by restless Pamphleteers,
 In Libels weekly and diurnal,
 Especially the * *Country Journal*;
 But as he felt sincere Contrition,
 He hop'd his Faults would find Remission.

Dear Sir, reply'd the *Blue-string Knight*,
 I'm glad you think Affairs go right,
 All Errors past must be excus'd
 (Since the best Men may be abus'd)
 What's in my Power you may command;
 Then shook him once more by the Hand,
 Gave him great Hopes (at least his *World*)
 That he should be a *Treasury-Lord*,
 And to confirm his good Intention,
 At present order'd him a *Pension*.

By these Degrees, Sir *Ralph* is known
 The staunchest Fool in all the Town,

* From hence it appears, that a Paper was published under that Name, long before this, in which we are at present engaged.

At *Points* and *Job-work* never fails,
 At all his old Acquaintance rails;
 Holds every Doctrine now in Fashion,
 That *Debts* are Blessings to a Nation;
 That *Brib'ry* under *Whig Direction*,
 Is needful to discourage Faction;
 That *standing Armies* are most fitting
 To guard the Liberties of Britain;
 That *F—* is her sincerest Friend,
 On whom she always should depend;
 That *Ministers*, by *Kings* appointed,
 Are, under them, the *Lord's anointed*;
Ergo, it is the self-same Thing,
 T' oppose the *Minister* or *King*;
Ergo, by Consequence of Reason,
 To censure *Statesmen* is *High Treason*.
 In Fine, the *standing Creed* is this;
 That *right* or *wrong*, or *bit* or *miss*,
 No Mischief can befall a Nation,
 Under so wise a *Ministration*;
 That Britain is *Sir Blue-string's Debtor*,
 And *Things* did surely ne'er go better!

So the plain Country Girl, untainted,
 Nor yet with wicked Man acquainted,
 Starts at the first lewd Application,
 Tho' warm perhaps by Inclination,
 And swears she would not with the King,
 For all the World do *such a Thing*;
 But when, with long assiduous Art,
Damon hath once seduc'd her Heart,
 She learns her Lesson in a Trice,
 And justifies the pleasing Vice,
 Calls it a natural, harmless Passion,
 Implanted from our first Creation,
 Holds there's no Sin between clean Sheets,
 And lies with every Man she meets.



CRAMBO-SATYRICON: Or, a learned Poetical Paraphrase on the Christ-Cross-Row. Occasioned by Col. Platton's late ingenious Dissertation on the Letter P. Address'd to the Colonel.

SINCE, Sir, on the *Alphabet* lately 'tis grown
The Fashion to spread our Wit about Town,
My *Horn-book* once more I shall take into Hand,
And explain all the Letters, as in Order they stand.
Great *A* stands for *Army*, as *B* stands for *Bubble*,
And *C* points out *Craftsman*, or *Galeb* in Trouble.
The *Dutch* and the *D*—I begin with a *D*,
And *England*, the fam'd *Balance-holder*, with *E*.
F serves for gay *France*, which I hope will not swerve,
And *G* for Great *George*, whom God long preserve!
With *H* we spell *Horace*, for his Wit so renown'd,
And *I* denotes *Isaac*, that *Statesman* profound!
When a *K* and an *L* stand for *Lawyer* and *Knave*,
Look on *M* as *Memento* how they ought to behave.
N *Nicholas* nick'd describes, without Doubt,
O! signifies Pain in a Fit of the Gout,
Pox runs with a *P* like *Pretender* and *Pope*,
To *Quibbles* and *Quirks* with a *Q* we give Scope,
And *R* marks out *Robin* with *Ribband* or *Rope*.
S squints at *South-Sea*, which has made the Land rue,
And *Tyburn* with *T* calls aloud for its Due.
Single V serves in *Vers*e against *Vice* to complain,
And *W* swears that he'll humble proud *Spain*.
Great *Xerxes* the Tyrant, begins with an *X*,
And *Y* stands for *Yes* in all Votes for a *Tax*;
Zeal flags without *Z*, an odd crooked Letter,
And * & wishes Things may go better.

* Please to read *And per se* and.

ROBIN'S

ROBIN'S Glory: Or the Proceſſion of the Knights
of the Bath.

MY Maſters give Ear,
And a Story you'll hear
Of a fine Raree-Show and a Garter,
Ne'er was ſeen ſuch a Sight,
Since *Tom Thumb* was a Knight,
In the Days of our noble King *Arthur*.

When King *George* was abroad,
'Twas a Season thought good,
To ſhew us King *Robin* in Glory,
With his Squires in a Row,
And his Knights two by two,
All as gallant as Sir *John Dory*.

E'en Baronets here
Humble Squires did appear,
And Members were proud of the Station;
And who would not be ſtill
For the Civil Liſt Bill,
To have a Place in a Sham Coronation?

They all walk'd, but their Prince
Did with Riding diſpenſe,
And with Bathing a troublesome Rite-a;
For he knew 'twas in vain,
They cou'd ne'er be waſh'd clean,
Any more than a Black-a-moor white-a.

In the Abby that Day,
Men did all things but pray;
There was Ale, Wine, and Gin for the Rabble,
Such Doings unclean
In a Church ne'er was ſeen,
Since the Days that old *Paul's* was a Stable.

In the Iſles, if you pleaſe,
You your Bodies might eaſe,
By the Suff'ring at leaſt of your Betters,

O *Stanhope* ! had'st thou
 Been alive but till now,
 To have seen a *Jakes* made of *St. Peter's*.

An odd Way they all took
 Thro' a blind crooked Nook
 In the Church, for their Robes to be seen-a;
 But then Scaffolds had they,
 To direct them the Way,
 Where they seldom or never had been-a.

After this, they all took
 An odd Oath with the Book,
 In the Days of old Popery known-a.
 To be true all their Lives
 To all Women but Wives,
 To all Ladies excepting their own-a.

Which Oath, if they broke,
 Then their Sovereign's Cook
 Was to hack off the Spurs of each Don-a,
 But 'twas much if he cou'd,
 For his Eyes must be good,
 To discern that they had any on-a.

Then this being done,
 To their Dinner they run
 With Stomachs so sharp and so keen a,
 Without Grace they fall to,
 As they used to do,
 Never minding their Chaplain the Dean-a.

To the closing of all,
 They at night had a Ball,
 Where their Damsels were dress'd to receive 'em;
 What farther was done,
 Will be better unknown,
 For 'tis decent that here we should leave 'em.

ROBIN will be out at last.

GOOD People draw near,
And a Tale you shall hear,
A Story concerning one *Robin*,
Who, from not worth a Groat,
A vast Fortune has got,
By Politicks, Bubbles, and Jobbing.

Fa, la.

But a few Years ago,
As we very well know,
He scarce had a Guinea his Fob in;
But by bribing of Friends,
To serve his dark Ends,
Now worth a full Million is *Robin*.

That his Bags he might fill,
He brought in a Bill,
Intitl'd, *An Act against Mobbing*;
But 'twas only a Law
To keep us in Awe,
From rising in Arms against *Robin*.

Each Post he hath fill'd
With Wretches unskill'd,
In all other Arts except Fobbing;
For no Men of Sense
Would ever commence
Such prostitute Creatures of *Robin*.

By the same worthy Means
We have B——s and D——s
As dull as blind *Bayard* or *Dobbing*,
That both Church and State
Draw near to their Date
By the excellent Measures of *Robin*.

What a Stir hath he made
About Commerce and Trade,
About *China*-ware, Lace and Bobbing,

But

But it's very well known,
That all this was done,
To skreen other Projects of *Robin*.

How oft hath he swore,
That he'd save *Gibralstore*,
With a Face full as grave as Judge *Probyn*,
Yet still, like the Church,
It is left in the Lurch
By the Treaties and Juggles of *Robin*.

As oft hath he said,
That our Debts should be paid,
And the Nation be eas'd of her Throbbing;
Yet on tick we still run,
For the true Sinking Fund
Is the bottomless Pocket of *Robin*.

Then at length would you be
From such foul Usage free,
From Armies, hard Taxes and Jobbing,
You must join Heart and Hand,
And by each other stand,
To pull down the Plunderer *Robin*.

Come then let a full Glass
Round to King and Queen pass,
Who will ease our disconsolate Sobbing;
For if rightly I ween)
Such a good King and Queen
Will give no Protection to *Robin*.

The Frighten'd FACTION.

COME ye *Jacks* and ye *Whiggs*, and ye *Tories*,
draw near,
A Story so strange you may never more hear,
How the one Side did hope, and the other did fear,
Which no body can deny.

The Knaves they look'd blank, and the Fools they
were bit,
Some thought the King's Wrongs on his Stomach
would sit,
And some were undone, if he did not forget.

Pit-

Pit-a-pat went the Heart of good Earl *Macclesfield*,
Who, excluding His Highness, the Regency seal'd,
For fear *Habeas Corpus* should now be repeal'd.

His wife Grace who of old at the Christ'ning so stir'd,
To absent from St. *James's* expected the Word,
Since what's Sauce for a Prince may be Sauce for a Lord,
T——d stopp'd, who, if suffer'd his Way to pursue,
Might have made a third Treaty as good as his two,
Of *G——gb* old, or of *H——r* new.

The Seas in all Haste our Ambassador cross'd,
Having gallop'd from *Paris*, as if all were lost.
As he look'd like a Peasant, he rode like a Post.

Poor *Harry* with *Bob* must give over the Strife,
Having lost the Great Duchesse, the Friend of his Wife,
So he's infamous, hopeless, and marry'd for Life.

Ev'n *Bob* is grown courteous, if Story says true,
What before for Prince *William* he never would do,
Now, instead of a red String, he'll give him a blue.

The grave Judges their Skill in the Law now display;
If the Father will keep his own Children, he may,
Now, *Nemine contradicente*, they say.

If the K——g will his Wit, not his Memory shew,
And discard his own Friends, and his Father's avow,
They will let him be one of the R——cy now.

Which no body can deny.

LEHEUP at Hanover.

WHEN *Robin* rul'd the *British* Land
With Gold and Silver bright,
To put his Kindred all in Place
He ever took Delight.

Forth from the *Venal Band* he call'd,
Horace and *Isaac* came,
He bid 'em go to foreign Courts,
And raise immortal Fame.

Two Taylors Daughters rich and fair
Exactly match each Brother,
Horace Made Suit, and gain'd the one,
And *Isaac Stitch'd* the other.

Alike they were in Shape and Size,
Alike in Parts and Breeding,
One to the Court of *France* was sent,
One to the Court of *Sweden*.

Horace in *France* did Treaties make,
Which ne'er can be repeated,
And you shall hear how *Isaac* too
Our *Heir Apparent* treated.

At *Herenhausen* he arriv'd,
And knocked at the Ring,
And told them that in Haste he'd brought
A Message from the King.

They took him for a Post-boy first,
And so they let him wait,
It being an Hour at least, before
They open'd him the Gate.

Incens'd at this, he rav'd and storm'd,
And made a mighty Pother,
And swore by *G-d* he'd teach 'em all
To know Sir *R-----*'s Brother.

Our Prince came out, and heard him swear,
Mistook him first for *Sutton*,
But after ask'd him civilly
To eat a Piece of Mutton.

But then at Supper as they sat,
Drinking and gaily sporting,
Lebeup with many a smutty Joke
His Neighbor fell a courting.

And down her Stays his Hand he squeez'd,
Then talk'd wond'rous *Pais*,
Quoth he, *Mon Prince Apparent*,
Vous foutez tout cela.

The Prince was shock'd, yet smiling said,
These Jokes are of the oddest,
Good 'Squire *Lebeup*; for you must know
Our Ladies are All modest.

Modest!

Modest! reply'd *Lebeup*, and sneer'd;
 Before I go to *Stockbo'm*,
 As modest as they are, good Sir,
 In faith I mean to k---ck 'em.

The Men got up, and laugh'd aloud,
 The Damsels did retire;
 Then to return their low Contempt,
 Thus spoke the angry 'Squire.

Come kiss mine A-se, your P—ce and all,
 Damme, d'ye think I carer
 Has e'er a *German* Prince, like me,
 Five Thousand Pounds a Year?

Provoked at this Language foul,
 They call'd him *Hundsfoot*, *Skellham*,
 And threaten'd they would use him worse
 Than e'er the King did *Pel—m*.

The P—ce (God bless him) now slept in,
 Who kept his Temper still,
 And said, This Man my Father sent,
 And shall we use him ill?

No! I to *England* with the News
 A Letter will indite;
 The King and Queen shall know it all,
 And they will do me right.

My Father will revenge th' Affront,
 And turn out all his Kin,
 From him that doth for *Tarmouth* serve
 To him that serves for *Lyn*.

Now God bless both our King and Queen,
 And may they quickly do it,
 Or shortly else (full well I ween)
 They will have Cause to rue it.

On the Bill for Naturalizing JEWS.

Hither from farthest East to West,
 Ye *Israelites* repair;
 In hospitable *Britain* rest,
 And seek *Messiah* there:

A glo.

A glorious Knight has now design'd
Your Race from Curse to free,
Nor is there sure in all your Kind
A verier *Jew* than he.

Remember not your old Disgrace,
When *Sevi* sought to reign,
Nor fear your Champion should embrace
The *Alcoran* again:
The doughty Knight wou'd sooner burn,
Should things come to the worst,
Since he that to a *Turk* would turn,
Must be a *Christian* first.

No *Sultan* e'er would give you Land,
Nor *Hollanders* consent
You should remove their Hills of Sand,
Or Deluges prevent:
On easy Terms you enter here,
Nor toil to drain a Fenn;
The *English* less the Cross revere,
Than *Dutch*, or *Mussulmen*.

When *Julian*, dear Apostate! rul'd
His Purpose was the same;
But Earthquakes vile his Projects fool'd,
And Balls of ugly Flame:
But now your Hopes will be fulfill'd
Another Way as well,
And what a *Julian* con'd not build,
An *English* Man may sell.

Th' *Egyptians* you may quickly spoil,
In Purchases out-do,
Where fairest Spots of all their Isle
With Milk and Honey flow;
Which Monkish Drones, in Popish Night,
For Fruitfulness did chuse,
Now turn'd in Pious Days of Light,
To Synagogues for *Jews*.

'Tis true, you wish'd of old, that Blood
Might on your Heads remain,
But your adopted Breth'ren good
Will wipe away the Stain:
Fear not the Wrath of Heav'n to feel
On all your Nation sent,

Your

Your Friend those Curses will repeal
By Act of Parliament.

The *Arians* all will join with you,
As once in *Spain* ally'd,
That so Religion betwixt Two
May soon be crucify'd:
The Gospel, like its Lord, is sold,
Nor gives the Price Offence,
Make it but a Ship-load of Gold,
Instead of Silver Pence.

To Colonel PLATOON.

LET *Pultney* speak, or *Caleb* write,
Invincible *Platoon*;
Or exil'd *Harry* call in spite
Both *H* and *L* Buffoon:
I'll honour *Horace*, praise *Lebeup*,
In hopes to hear from * *Mr. Scroop*.
With a fa, la, la.

Alike in Parts, alike to Sight,
I view each witty Brother,
Both modest, silent, and polite,
Just tally'd to each other.
For, seen apart, or in a Group,
Who hates not *Horace*, likes *Lebeup*.

'Tis true, that *France* coquet and vain
Beheld with strange Caprice,
Descended from a *Taylor's Strain*,
Madam-l' Ambassadrice;
Nay, liken'd *Horace* with a Smile,
To *Sancho Pancho* in his Isle.

In such a free licentious State
What Merit can hope Praise?
Where Men Reform'd Religion hate,
And Women wear no Stays:
Where they thought *Horace* loud and rude,
And call'd his Wife, a *Strait-lac'd Prude*.

* Secretary to the Treasury.

Why should *Lebeup* Retirement chuse?

Why dread the *Craftsman's* Sting?

Who when he did the Prince abuse,
Did represent the King:

His Blunder's small, the Case is plain,
He only did mistake the Reign.

He sure may think, without Offence,

His Honour from *Ratisbon*

Excell'd by t'other Excellence,

That's lately come from *Lisbon*:

Dame Nature could no farther go,

To make this *Third* she join'd these *Two*.

With such Allies you can't despair,

Or, tho' put to a Stand,

You'll Succour find from Dr. *H—re*,

And Wit from Dr. *B—d*:

Their easy Turn, their courtly Style,

Their † *Heathen Gods* will make you smile.

† Answer to
the Occasional
Writer.

These Elders twain, Right Rev'rend one,

As t'other soon shall be,

May end the Work so well begun,

Inscrib'd to Mr. *P*.

Or let his Lady be abus'd,

By Elders not the first accus'd.

But tho' your chief Affection lyes

To bright-reflecting Brass;

Yet don't be arch, I do advise,

On Mirrors made of Glas:

It may provoke him to produce

One Mirror for the Nation's Use.

What righteous *Caleb* says deny,

He'd have it understood,

You ne'er a Sixpence would put by,

T' advance the publick Good:

Aloud your *Tow'r* Expence declare,

You for the publick Good was there.

And now, Friend *Robin*, e'er we part,

I'll tell you what they mean

By a Word so often got by Heart,

That famous Word, a SKREEN,

Invented first, as we are told,

To keep us either warm or cold.

For,

For, first we place it next the Fire,
 Or, when that use is o'er;
 When Flames decrease, or Winds grow high'r,
 We place it next the Door:
 This Office last is worst, no doubt,
 Who's at the Door is nearest *Out*.
 Now Heav'n increase the Subjects Love
 To th' King that will displace
 The Man, whose *Going Out* may prove
 A *General Act of Grace*:
 Speak loudly, *Britons*, what you mean,
 God save the King, *Fold up the SKREEN*.

The OAK and DUNGHILL, a Dialogue.

*Comparisons often are odiously made,
 Which sharply and shamefully may be repaid;
 We say what we will, and scorn to repent it.
 We hear what we would not, and must be contented.*

Æ S O P Nat.

O A K.

THOU Scoundrel *Dunghill*, hence, avaunt;
 Thou rotting Smoaking Miscreant;
 Remove thy noisome Heap of Mud
 Far from my cleanly Neighbourhood;
 Nor spread thy Soil to give Offence,
 Thou Lump of vile *Sir-Reverence*.—

D. *Sir Oak*, your Highness makes me smile
 At your great Courtliness of Stile:
 Tho' now you nice and squeamish are,
 You once could bear me nearer far;
 When humbly to your Service bound,
 I did your Bus'ness under Ground;
 My *Compost* made your *Verdure* rise,
 Gold-finders should not *Dung* despise.

O. I thrive by thee! whom I despise!
 Tho' deep as Hell, as Heaven high!
 Sov'reign of Woods, sacred to *Jove*,
 Sprung from the *Dodonean Grove*,
 Consulted in Affairs of Doubt,
 Do I not Oracles give out!

I 2

D. Yes,

D. Yes, but 'tis hardly worth the while
Consulting whether *Croft* or *Pile*;
Small Light Men by your Answers gain,
Without new Answers to explain;
Tho' if you think 'twill Honour win ye,
I freely own the Devil's in ye;
My slighted Dirt the World will find
Of thrice the Service to Mankind.

O. Thou! from thy Surface what proceeds?
Ten Thousand Nettles, stinging Weeds,
And Hemlock, whose pernicious Cold
One *Phocion* kill'd — as I am told.

D. Are Nettles despicable things?
You once admir'd them for their Stings,
And have, perhaps, Advantage made
Sometimes of *Hemlock* and *Night-Shade*:
I own, that *Hemlock Phocion* slew,
But what is *Phocion*, pray, to you?
A Heroe in a thread-bare Cloak,
With Beggar's Purse, and Beggar's Look,
Who lov'd not Fopperies of *France*,
Nor *Honi soit qui mal y pense*;
But dy'd as poor, when out of Place,
As *Harley* or *Godolphin* was —

O. I could thy Insolence chastise
With Ease, by *Pains* and *Penalties*;
And surely would, did I not think,
The more thou'rt stirr'd, the more thou'lt sink.

D. Doubtless my Saviour must be strong,
For I have lain near you so long,
My Secrets you can scarce have shewn,
Without discovering of your own.

O. Art thou not *Square*, and *Squab*, and *Squat*?
Answer me this, thou Patriot!
Why do I deign to talk of thee,
Thou Thing of Filth and low degree?
I that all Enemies defy!
I that eternally *Am I*!

D. My Form I cannot help, if low,
The Thanks to him that made me so:
You ne'er were wanting, in your Days,
At trumpeting your proper Praise:
The only Proof the World has had
You live by Neighbours that are bad.

O. But

O. But Raillery apart, I hope
You own, that Weeds are all your Crop.

D. If only Weeds as yet I bear,
'Tis you the sole Occasion are;
To whose Incumb'rance 'tis we owe
Our Landlord has no Corn to sow:
Else wou'd I soon reward his Pain,
And crown the Field with *yellow Grain*.
But, pray, what Fruits on you, Sir, grow,
To make your Boast of *Mistletoe*?

Which Fools with Wonder may behold,
Who all that glisters take for Gold.
What else is yours, dear Friend of mine,
Except some Acorns, Food of Swine?
Tho' Men, if you continue *Great*,
Will soon have nothing else to eat;
The *only Way* your Highness Sage
Will e'er restore the *Golden Age*.

O. Thou base-bred Wretch! do I not stand
The Glory of my native Land?
For Publick Good do I nor spread
The Honours of my Leafy Head?
And kindly save the abject Plains,
And Flocks and Landlords from the Rains.

D. Yes, you protect them for a Spurt,
And quickly souse them doubly for't;
For if continual proves the Show'r,
The Streams with Int'rest down you pour.
Who stands beneath? So off from you
The Water slides——no Matter who.

O. Ungrateful! that which off from me
At Autumn falls, enriches thee.

D. How graciously you swell my Heap,
By giving what you cannot keep,
And now and then is Honour done me,
By dropping *poultry Vermin* on me.

O. Malice it self has ne'er deny'd,
That Timber is by Oak supply'd;
Whence Ships in ev'ry Ocean roll,
And spread my Fame from Pole to Pole.

D. Wisely of *Ships* your Brag is made,
Say, do they *fight*? Or, do they *trade*?
So the French King, and all his Men
Went up a Hill, and down again.

More useful oft have I been found
Manuring but an Inch of Ground.
Two Ears of Corn more Profit yield
Than all the Navies you can build.

O. Does not my Shelter wide display'd
Refresh the Summer with the Shade?

D. If Praise for this you would obtain,
Pack off to *Italy* or *Spain*:

Small Good in Northern Climes is done,
By shading Past'rage from the Sun;

Which you, to saucy Greatness grown,
Would fain have shine on you alone—

The Grass beneath your Branches seen
Is rank and sour, tho' high and green;

Nor can our Arable be good,
Unless our Landlord grubs the Wood;

And all his Ground from *Lumber* frees,
Old, hollow, rotten-hearted Trees:

And were you sound, yet all must own,
You're good for nothing, till cut down.

O. Suppose me old, were it not hard
For Age a Servant to discard?

Besides, the *Royal Oak* is known
Full stedfast to the *British* Throne:

And he that has but Eyes to see,
Must needs confess that I am he;

In deep Distress I Succour bring,
And from Pursuit can screen a King.

D. A verier Lye was never spoke
By *Damon* in or out of Oak:

Unfading Glories might you bear,
If you like your Forefathers were:

The *Royal Oak*, each Infant knows,
Once kept and hid a King from Foes,

Your *Screen* is spread for private Ends,
To keep and hide *One*—from his Friends.

A Sequel

*A Sequel to the Fable of the OAK and
the DUNGHILL. In Imitation of
STERNHOLD and HOPKINS.*

AT Length this *Oak* all *canker'd* round,
And *rotten* to the Heart,
Became the Nuisance of the Ground,
And play'd the Tyrant's Part.

His monstrous Bulk the Moisture drein'd
From every Plant below;
The Vegetables all complain'd,
Except the *Mistletoe*.

A Field of *Hemp* in this Distress,
For Vengeance loudly cry'd;
(Blest Plant! whose Virtues could redress
Our Woes, if well apply'd.)

Hemp op'd his awful Mouth, and spoke
To the oppressive Tree:

"Thou arrogant, aspiring Oak,
"No bigger once than me;

"Tho' pamper'd, by thy Master's Care,
"To feed his numerous Swine;

"Dar'st thou with that *fam'd Oak* compare,
"Which sav'd the *Royal Line*?

"Tis true, indeed, you both inclose

"A King for different Ends;

"He screen'd a Monarch from his *Foes*,

"You guard him from his *Friends*.

"*Acorns*, I grant, thou once did'st bear,

"But now grown fruitless quite,

"*Chaplets* become thy only Care,

"And *Ribbons* thy Delight.

"Thy

- " Thy *clumsy Trunk* and *awkward Air*,
 " With *Garlands* thus attir'd,
 " Looks like a *May-pole* in a Fair,
 " By Sots and Fools admir'd.
 " With the *Dodonean Oak* you vye,
 " From him derive your Line;
 " His *Oracles* prov'd all a *Lye*,
 " And so I fear will thine.
 " But whether to those *Amient Plains*
 " Thou truly art a-kin,
 " Or, as the Neighbourhood maintains,
 " To *Modern Oaks* of *Lyn*:
 " Give Ear, and I thy Doom will shew;
 " E'er many Months are past,
 " Stript of thy *Gew-gaws*, *Red* and *Blue*,
 " A *Rope* shall bind thee fast.
 " For know our most indulgent Lord
 " The general With shall crown,
 " And every Plant with one Accord
 " Will join to pull thee down.
 " Oft I've been told, on this fair Ground,
 " That many a Traytor-Tree
 " Hath been in *Hempen durance* bound,
 " Tho' stout and proud as thee.
 " Let *Pagan Gods* and *Priests*, a Score,
 " To ward thy Fate combine;
 " Tho' rescued from the *Lightning's* Pow'r,
 " Thou shalt submit to mine.

A New Song. To an old Tune.

D Ear Mirror of Knighthood, the Song is to you,
 Tho' the Tune it is old, yet the Words shall
 be true;

You shall have a new Tune, when your Manners are
 new, *Which no body can deny.*

Tho' the Conduct and Art that as yet you have shewn
 To *January* quite from th' Eleventh of *June*,
 Has been all but the Second Part of the same Tune.
 Tho'

Tho' your Foes they might sing, if your Dwelling they
knew,

Of *Harry* and *Bob*, and *Bob's* Bull-dog, I trow,
To a good old Tune, *Cuckolds, Boys, all of a Row.*

If on Family Tales they were minded to run;
Like *Bob* contra *Will*, they might never have done
With Wife, and with Brothers, with Father and Son.

But this under Favour, we never shall do,
For an old Correspondent this Way to pursue,
Is fit for your merry Men only and you.

We thank you, dear Knight, for your Troops and your
Care,

By which *Britain* is safe, be it Peace, be it War,
As our Freedom at home, or abroad, *Gibraltar.*

For your fav'ring the *Quaker*, and settling the *Jew*,
The Merit whereof, give the Devil his Due,
Is yours, aye, and that without Irony too.

For the Tribute we grant to the Great and the Small,
Which, for Honour of *England*, but *Pension* we call;
Which from *None* we receive, tho' we pay it to *All*.

That no *Tory* should breathe, you once said, and swore
both,

And now prove, to our Wonder, a Person of Troth,
Being likely to keep both your Word and your Oath.

For, if 'tis the Sign of a *Whig* to withstand,
Or, at least, to dislike your despotick Command,
You have scarce left a *Tory* to breathe on the Land.

There is no need at all of *Decyphering* here,
For the Nation is ready, without it, to swear,
That the Name of a *Rascal* begins with an *R*.



Great

Great Britain's Glory: Or, the Stay-at-home
Fleet. Tune of, Packington's Pown'd.

COME, ye Lovers of Peace, who are said to have
fold
Your Votes, that the War of Queen ANNE
it might cease;

Come ye Lovers of War, who 'tis certain, of old,
Wou'd have hang'd, if ye cou'd, all the Lovers of Peace:

Come you *Whig* and you *Tory*,

Attend to my Story,

For you ne'er heard the like, nor your Fathers before ye;
How *Britain, Great Britain!* is Queen of the Main,
And her Navies in Port are the Terror of *Spain*.

Come you Country so gentle, who pay all the Charge,
And ye Statesmen so simple, that squander for nought:
Come and see for Diversion a Squadron so large,
'Twou'd the *Spaniards* have beat, if it durst but have
fought:

How the Streamers so high

Are insulting the Sky,

Ay, and buffet the Birds who dare to come nigh:

For *Britain, Great Britain!* &c.

With Bombs and with Fireships, with Powder and Ball,
These stout Men of War were furnish'd, 'tis said,
And had Plenty of Guns, tho' they use none at all,
And full gallant they sail'd, till they came to *Spithead*:

But then *Fl——y* cry'd Boh!

So no farther they go,

Tho' the Tide it did serve, and the Wind it did blow;
For *Britain*, &c.

What a stately Appearance they make when they're join'd
In fierce Line of Battle with trusty *Mynbeer*?

What a wond'rous Incitement of Valour to find

They're as safe in the Front as they are in the Rear?

The

They who counted 'em o'er,
 Reckon'd Forty and more,
 Which is all out as good as if made up Fourscore.
 For *Britain*, &c.

Their Commander, Sir *Charles*, won'd believe his own
 Eyes,
 Nor Commission would take like Pig in a Poke,
 To be sent on Fools Errands he wisely denies,
 Or to lose both his Fleet and his Life for a Joke:
 And if Admiral *HO-*
SIER had but done so,
 Neither he nor his Thousands had perish'd, I trow.
 For *Britain*, &c.

Tho' the *Frenchman*, a Friend, need not strike to our Flag,
 And the Man who wou'd force him, discarded has been,
 Let not Enemies hence take Occasion to brag,
 We will humble the Pride of the Catholick Queen:
 If that Vixen on Throne
 Will not yield us our own,
 Then this Navy shall teach her to let it alone:
 For *Britain*, &c.

Our Ships have been order'd, unwisely, some thought,
 In the *Indies* to fry, or the *Baltick* to freeze;
 But our Governours now have kept clear of that Fault,
 And have station'd them surer by many Degrees,
 Whether safely may go
 The *Belle* and the *Beau*,
 Both Ladies and Lords to this new *Raree-shew*.
 For *Britain*, &c.

The Admiral prudently comes up to Town,
 Because in the Fleet there is nothing to do:
 And the Holiday Gentry in Shoals they go down,
 While the Sailors their 'Haviour full mannerly shew.
 Tho' they may not advance,
 Upon Deck they may dance,
 Without any Offence to our Brother of *France*.
 For *Britain*, &c.

The

The Courtiers now say we no longer must rail
At the Taxes, because they so wisely are spent;
For our Vessels are tight, tho' they're not fit for Sail,
And of *Landmen* and *Women* have full Complement.

Ev'n *Hampden*, they vow,
Were he living till now,
Would not *Grudge* them Ship-Money for such a fine
Show;
For *Britain*, &c.

Rather give up *Gibraltar*, than let your Shot flye,
Quoth *Monsieur*; 'tis vain for Engagement to wish;
Quoth our other good Friend, *Hogen Mogen* so fly,
You *Emise* on your Coasts, but you must take no Fish:
But no Anger will rise

In our gracious Allies,
Tho' we Man out a Fleet ev'ry Year to catch Flies.
For *Britain*, &c.

Our merry Men feasted, 'twas all that they did,
While Time staid for no Man, and Summer did waste;
But 'soon as the Letter comes Post from *Madrid*,
And the great *Brazen Head* blunders out, Time is past,

Then our Squadron so stout,
Without Triumph or Rout,
Sails in to good Purpose as e'er it sail'd out:
For *Britain*, &c.

6 MA 50

FINIS

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PANEGYRICK.

OR, THE
N O R F O L K
MISCELLANY.

P A R T II.



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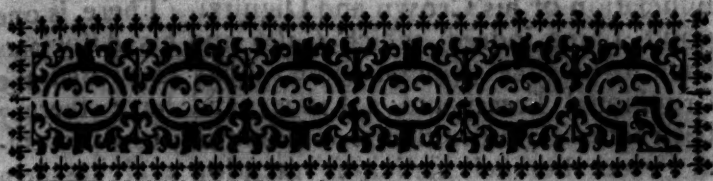
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The Seasonable Writer. Being an
Appendix to the Observations upon
the Treaty of Seville.

IT may seem a Piece of Presumption in me, to say any thing on the Subject of this *glorious Treaty*, after the mild, judicious, and candid Defence of it, mentioned in the Title of this Paper; in which the Author, without Prejudice, Passion, or any personal Reflection, has set the whole Negotiation in so clear a Light, that one should almost be tempted to think it came from the same able Hand, which had the principal Share in procuring us this Blessing.

Yet cannot I forbear, like *pick'd Herring* after the *Vault on the High Rope*, to shew my Willingness to entertain the Lower Rank of my Countrymen with this Scene of publick Felicity, by making a short Inventory of the many Advantages of the Peace, and the great Merits of the Peace-Makers.

First, I cannot but congratulate them upon the sole Triumph of the last War; I mean not any foreign Laurels, but their having routed *CALEB* and his Allies; that formidable Confederacy! which (according to our Author) have so long stopt the Peace with *Spain*; and tho,' with respect to their Numbers, a poor and pitiful Faction, having scarce more than one Man of Parts among them, at least of Parts in any wise equal to the meanest of our *present Ministers*, (and when I consider their Abilities, I should be at a loss to say which is he) I say, this Faction are now endeavouring to obstruct his Imperial Majesty's Accession, and attempting to raise a War in the *Empire*; and are doing what in them lies to undo all a second

Time, by inciting a certain *Monarch* to a new Renunciation of his Crown and Dignity. There is one good Thing indeed, which *Caleb* and his Associates have by Chance brought about, They prevented the Provisional Treaty and a Truce, and have thereby been remotely instrumental in procuring us a perpetual Peace; but their malicious Intention excludes them from all pretence to Merit on this Account.

I proceed now to take Notice of some of the most conspicuous Advantages of the present Treaty.

And the first I shall take the Liberty of presenting to your View, is the peaceable Manner of obtaining this Peace; not by Blows and Blood, or dear-bought Victories, but by good Words and Civility, Patience and Long-suffering.

Secondly, The Security to the *Protestant Succession*, by the Assistance of 24,000 Foot and Horse, *French* and *Spaniards*, in Case of an Invasion. There wants but one Accession more, to make our *Auxiliaries* 36,000 Men.

Thirdly, The Additional Security of *Gibraltar*, by the Guarantee of his *Catholick Majesty*; what a Comfort will it be to the Garrison of that important Place, when the King of *Spain* appears before it with an Army, to be assured that he comes for its Defence and Protection! And here I cannot but take Notice of the great Art and consummate Prudence of the Ministry, in making and contriving a new Security for the Possession of *Gibraltar* from those very Treaties, which were no Security to it before; and especially preventing *Spain* from renouncing it a second Time, which would certainly have endangered it, because two Negatives make an Affirmative.

Fourthly, By reducing the formidable Power of the House of *Austria*, by preventing *Italy* from falling into his Hands; and by forcing his Imperial Majesty to repair the Affront offered to *Don Carlos*, in refusing him his Daughter for a Bride.

Fifthly, The Articles for Reparation of the Damages of our Merchants, which are so full, that I humbly propose erecting a Company with a Joint Stock, which Corporation may borrow its Title from the ingenious, tho' old-fashion'd Game, called *Loſing Lotum*, when that Person wins who loses most.

This

This Stock of the *Lotum Company* considering Accidents, I reckon would be about six *per Cent.* out of Pocket, computed thus. For Contingency of Commissioners not agreeing, a Case unprovided for, 2 *per Cent.* For Deduction of unlawful Commerce, one and a half. For the Uncertainty of Proofs and Reports from *Spanish* Magistrates in *Europe* and *America*— and a half *per Cent.* for Solicitors and Lawyers Fees, &c. 1 *per Cent.* more, making it all 6 *per Cent.*

And here I cannot sufficiently extol the commendable Lenity of our Ministers, in not balancing the *Spanish* Losses in 1718, with the Expence of defending *Gibraltar*; because, in that Case, there must have been a considerable Balance on our side.; and the Business of our Ministers we know has all along been to hold the Balance of *Europe* as steady and even as they could, that it might not lean too much on any one side.

Sixthly, I have always reckoned Prudence and Foresight the most useful Talents of a Minister, to which must be imputed any Connivance at the Reparation of the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, by which we may be in a Condition to bridle the *Ostend* Trade, in Case of a Rupture with his Imperial Majesty.

Now let us consider what our Adversaries can alledge as a Draw-back upon all the before-mentioned Advantages. Have we not got very near as good a Peace as we should have had in the Year 1725? Have we not the same Declaration with Regard to the Advantages in Trade, pretended by our Ministers to have been granted to the *Emperor*? viz. *That they mistook the Article, and did not understand the King of Spain's Meaning?*

All the Difference between our Circumstances, now and then, is no more than that the *Emperor* is not included, which may perhaps Occasion a little Brush with him on that Account, which I dare say will not last above a Campaign or two. But to stop the Mouths of these eternal *Cavillers*, I desire they will give a plain Answer to this *Dilemma*; either the *Emperor* is a Match for the Powers, who, in that Case, will oppose him; or he is not. If he is, then he is a formidable Power, and ought to be reduced. If He is not, then he must quickly succumb.

Our Adversaries alledge that we have had a great Interruption of Trade, and that our Merchants have suffered many Losses. To this I answer, the first will be settled on as good a Foot as it was before, and like a Stream damm'd up, will run with greater Force in the old Channel. As to our Losses, they will be fully repaired. *Vide Observations*, Pag. 13. As to the extraordinary Taxes, they have been most of them spent at Home, amongst our own People; for tho' we have been at a considerable Expence in exporting a great Quantity of our Specie, for the Support of the *Hessian* and *Wolfenbuttle* Troops; yet we have managed extremely prudent with respect to our Navy; for by keeping them all the Summer at *Spithead*, we have had the Money spent among ourselves; and we have also had an Opportunity of giving a Proof of the Valour of our Troops by the Defence of *Gibraltar*. But the greatest Advantage of all is the separating *Spain* from the *Emperor*, and joining her again to *France*, by which the Ballance of *Europe* is restored again as it ought to be. As for my Part, I cannot help thinking that what gives the most sensible Relish to the whole Negotiation, is to see the Cordiality of the *French* Nation, our ancient Foes, in contributing to this Scene of Felicity. As to what they say about *Don Carlos*, I think the Affair is extremely plain. Either the *Emperor* had an Intention to marry him to the Arch-Duchess, or he had not. If he had not, why a Plague did he make all that Bustle? If he had, it is better that it should be done by our Consent and Intermission, than otherwise.

Upon the whole Matter, things being brought to this happy Period, who is there that can be dissatisfied at the Measures which have brought it about? Who is there that can grumble at any of the *Votes of Credit*; since we now reap the happy Fruits of them? Who is there that can repine, if our Circumstances at Home should be a little worse than they were; since they are so much mended Abroad?

May the Nation rejoice, as it were with one Voice! May our Right Worshipful Mayor and worthy Aldermen meet at *Guildhall* in their Fur-Gowns to Pen a warm, and dutiful Address on this Occasion! May a Day of general Thanksgiving be appointed, and may Lords and
Commons,

Commons, who have not had any Ocession of going thither this long time, now go in solemn Proceffion to the *Metropolitan Church*! And since we are all alike to be *Sharers in this Blessing*, let us join in acknowledging *Merit*, where it is so justly due, heartily wishing that these *Peace-Makers* may not fail to meet with their proper *Reward*.



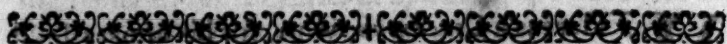
*A True COPY of the Red Printed Paper
dropt in St. James's Park.*

WHereas a *Coachman*, who, for his unparallel'd and consummate Impudence, has, for many Years past, gone by the Name of *Brazen-Face*; about Fifty Years of Age; full bodied; brown Complexion; Five Feet Ten Inches high, or thereabout; has lost a Tooth in the fore Part of his upper Jaw; dirty Hands; light-finger'd; a heavy, clumsy, slouching, wadling Gate; an affected Toss with his Head; a supercilious, sneering, grinning Look; of a malicious, vindictive, sanguinary Nature; a saucy insulting, over-bearing, imperious Behaviour in Prosperity; a poor, low, wretched, mean, abject Spirit in Adversity; of a perfidious, impious, atheistical Principle; remarkably addicted to Lying; an ignorant, forward, positive, unexperienc'd, headstrong, blundering Driver; despised, contemned, and hated by all his Master's faithful Servants; generally wears a Livery trimm'd with Blue; Garters below Knee; formerly served a Widow Lady of the first Rank, till he was dismiss'd her Service for selling her Corn and Hay, for which he was committed, and lay several Months in Prison, and till her Death could not get into Service again (but wander'd about in the Scorn and Contempt of every one that knew him) but upon her Demise procured himself to be chose Postillion, and afterwards COACHMAN, in the Service of his late Mistress's Successor, who was a perfect Stranger to all his scandalous, base, wicked and corrupt Practices; Has plunged, bewilder'd, and overset his present Master; imposed upon, and deceiv'd his Mistress, and plunder'd,

plunder'd, robb'd and stript the whole Family, which is exceeding numerous.

If any Person or Persons will seize and apprehend the said *Coachman*, and bring him to the *Axe* and *Block* upon *Tower-Hill*, or to the *Gilbet* and *Halter* in *Tyburn-Road*, so that he may be brought to Justice, and dealt with as he deserves, such Person or Persons shall be nobly rewarded, and eminently distinguished by all the Family.

N. B. If the said *Coachman* is not apprehended by the 13th Instant, he shall be more particularly describ'd, with his Name, commonly called his Christian Name, and his Sir-Name at Length.



The LORDS PROTEST

On the Treaty of Peace, Union, and Friendship, between Great-Britain, France, and Spain, concluded at Seville on the 9th of November, 1729.

Die Martis 27 Januarij 1729.

THE House (according to Order) proceeded to take into further Consideration the Treaty of Peace, Union and Friendship, lately concluded at *Seville*; and the same was read by the Clerk, as was also the fifth Article of the Quadruple Alliance.

Moved to Resolve, That the Agreement in the Treaty of *Seville* to effectuate the Introduction of *Spanish Troops* into *Tuscany* and *Parma*, is a manifest Violation of the fifth Article of the Quadruple Alliance, tends to involve the Nation in a dangerous and expensive War, and to destroy the Ballance of Power in *Europe*.

After Debate, the Question was put upon the said Motion,

It was resolved in the Negative.

Contents 3r. Not Con' 86.

Moved

Moved to Resolve, That our Right of Sovereignty, Dominion, Possession, and Property to *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*, is not ascertain'd by the Treaty of *Seville*, so as to extinguish the Claims and Pretensions set up by the *Spaniards*, which were follow'd by an actual Siege, since the Cession of those valuable Places by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

After Debate, the Question was put thereupon,

It was resolved in the Negative.

Contents 31. Not Con' 85.

Moved to Resolve, That the Stipulations in the Treaty of *Seville* for repairing the Losses of our Merchants, are insufficient and precarious.

After Debate, the Question was put thereupon,

It was resolved in the Negative.

Contents 30. Not Con' 79.

Then it was proposed to Resolve, That the Treaty of Peace, Union and Friendship, concluded at *Seville* on the 9th of *November* last, does contain all necessary Stipulations for maintaining and securing the Honour, Dignity, Rights, and Possessions of the Crown; and that all due Care is taken therein for the Support of the Trade of this Kingdom, and for repairing the Losses suffered by the Merchants.

After Debate, the Question was put thereupon,

And it was resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient

Because we think this Question, from the Debate, as well as from the Import of the Question it self, was designed as a Justification of the whole Treaty, which appears to us neither to be Solid, Honourable, nor Advantageous, for the following Reasons.

1. Because we know not whether all the Treaties and Conventions concluded between *England* and *Spain*, may be, in every Article of them, so beneficial to us, as to be fit to be again confirmed and renewed.

2. Because we think it extreamly difficult to examine, with requisite Nicety, how advantageous every Treaty and Convention between *Great Britain* and *Spain* may be to us; so we think it absurd to pretend to judge of any future Agreement, and therefore we think it very extraordinary, and apprehend it may be of very ill Consequence, to be bound, as we are, by this Treaty,

Treaty, to ratify and guaranty whatever Agreement shall be made between the King of *Spain* and Dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, concerning the Garrisons once established in their Countries.

3. Because the Obligation on our Merchants to make Proof of the Justice of their Demands for their Losses, at the Court of *Spain*, is, in our Opinion, an Hardship upon them, and not honourable for the Nation; and we are persuaded those unfortunate Gentlemen will undertake so troublesome and expensive a Journey with the less Chearfulness, because they may fear their Claims are not unlikely to be counterballanced by others from the *Spaniards*; and after all, they have only the slender Comfort of hoping (if they think there is even any Room for them to hope) to get that Redress by Commissaries, which they have not hitherto been able to obtain by Plenipotentiaries.

4. Because we are obliged to assist in effectuating the Introduction of Six Thousand *Spanish* Troops into the Towns of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, without specifying the Methods we are to take, or Charge we are to be at, in giving that Assistance; so that, for aught we know, we may be liable to an endless Trouble, and unlimited Expence, to compass what, if effected, cannot, in our Opinion, be of any Advantage to us, but, as we fear, may prove most prejudicial and destructive.

5. Because we oblige ourselves to guaranty for ever, not only to *Don Carlos*, but even to all his Successors, the Right to, and Possession of the States of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, which we think is a Stipulation of so extensive a Nature, that we can hardly see we are ever like to be exempted from the Disputes and Quarrells it may, too probably, draw upon us.

6. Because this Treaty differs from the Quadruple Alliance, upon which 'tis pretended to be chiefly founded, in some Points that seemed to be thought essential by ourselves, as well as by the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, as far as we can judge by the Stipulations of former Alliances, particularly in that of introducing *Spanish* Troops, instead of Neutral, into *Tuscany* and *Parma*; and by stipulating that those Troops shall remain their till *Don Carlos* and his Successors

are

are secure and exempt from all Events; which, from the Nature and Extent of human Foresight, we think the warmest Advocates for the Treaty must allow, is, in Effect to say, they are to remain there for ever.

7. Because the Alterations in this Treaty, from that of the Quadruple Alliance, are made, not only without the Consent of the Emperor, but, as we fear, he will interpret it (since he has not the Compliment paid him of being invited into it) almost in Defiance of him; and if this Treatment of him should unhappily alienate his Friendship from us, we think we should, as good *Englishmen*, have great Reason to lament the Loss of such an ancient, powerful and faithful Ally.

8. Because we apprehend there is an artful Omission throughout the whole Treaty, of any plain and express Stipulation to secure to us our Right to *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, which, however willing we are to attribute it rather to the superior Skill of the *Spanish* Managers, than to any want of Zeal for their Country in our own, is an Error that we fear will leave our Possession of those important Places too liable to future Cavils; and we think the *Spaniards* could not, with the least plausible Pretence of Reason, have refused to ascertain our indubitable Right to them in as strong and explicit Terms as we have declared ourselves Guarantees of the Right, Possession, Tranquillity, and Quiet of the *Italian* Dominions allotted to *Don Carlos* and his Successors; since we have had the Complaisance to admit the *Spaniards* to discuss their Pretensions for the Restitution of the Ships taken in the Year 1718, tho' their Right to that Compensation was as effectually secured to them, as it can be pretended ours is to *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, by those general Words that renew and confirm all former Treaties.

9. Because his Majesty himself, by his Speech from the Throne, seems not entirely free from Apprehensions of new Troubles being still likely to arise in *Europe*, even in Resentment of the present Engagements; and if he thought this Peace had settled the publick Tranquillity upon a lasting Foundation, we are confident his Paternal Goodness would have inclined

inclined him, by a further Reduction of Troops, to have given more Ease to his People, who have long groaned under the heavy Burthen of Taxes almost insupportable, and of a large standing Army, and have had all their Grievances increased by a pernicious Interruption of late of that flourishing Commerce, without which they can neither be happy at home, nor respected abroad.

10. Because it appears to us, after the most mature Consideration of all Particulars, that we are much farther obliged than we were before, and than, we think, we ever ought to be, to meddle in Disputes about Territories at a great Distance from us, and in which our National Interest seems no way concern'd; and since one of the principal contracting Parties in that Alliance upon which this is built, is not only left out of it, but, as we think there is Reason to believe, extremely disobliged by it; and since it seems impossible to make the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into *Tuscany* and *Parma*, even by the most prevailing Application we can use, consistent with the Dignity and Quiet of those Princes, whose Towns they are to garrison; we own ourselves, upon the whole, uncapable of discerning either the Equity or Policy of this Treaty, which, we fear, will not enable us, either to restore what we have lost, or long to preserve quietly and undisturbed what we yet possess; and which we fear, instead of extricating us out of those Difficulties that we have of late been involved in, and which have been owing, in a great Measure, in our Judgment, to the Incapacity of those Ministers by whose Counsels we have been intangled in a Labyrinth of unnecessary, if not prejudicial Treaties and Engagements, will probably be the melancholly Occasion of fresh Disturbances, and bring upon us, already too much impoverish'd, the Misery and Confusion of a War; which, if once kindled, we are convinced it will be as difficult to know the End, as to determine the Success of such a fatal Event.

Scarsdale	Beaufort	Gower	Bedford
Thanet	Anglesey	Coventry	Huntingdon
Bruce	Boyle	Bathurst	Willoughby de Brook
Foley	Plymouth	Strafford	Oxford and Mortimer
Northampton	Abingdon	Warrington	Montjoy
Aylesford	Middleton	Bristol	Bridgewater;



The LORDS PROTEST

On the Motion for Reading the Mutiny Bill, &c.

Die Lunæ 16 Martij, 1729.

THE House being moved that the Bill entitled, "An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters," be read a second Time on *Friday* next.

The same was objected to, and a nearer Day being proposed, After Debate,

The Question was put, Whether the said Bill should be read a second Time on *Friday* next?

It was Resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient

Because we conceive that the Consideration of the State of the Nation, which is appointed for next *Thursday*, ought rather to precede, than follow that Deliberation, which will naturally arise upon the Bill of Mutiny and Desertion; concerning the keeping up, in Time of Peace, a standing Army, and the Method of governing that Army, if any should be judged requisite; which is a Subject of such Importance, that we think hardly any thing of more Moment can fall under our Consideration, or that more requires the clearest Light that can be had, in Order to form a Judgment upon it, not unworthy a *British* House of Peers, zealous for that Freedom which has been delivered down to them from their Ancestors.

Strafford

Northampton

Hereford

Abingdon

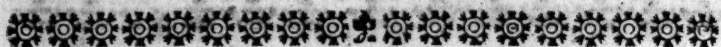
Aylesford

Boyle

Foley

Beaufort

Oxford and Mortimer.



The LORDS PROTEST

On the Motion to Address for a List of Pensions.

Die Jovis 19 Martij, 1729.

THE House being moved, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, That he will be graciously pleas'd to order to be laid before this House, a List of all Pensions payable by the Crown :

And a Question being stated thereupon,

The previous Question was put, Whether that Question shall be now put ?

It was resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient'

1. Because we think this Question ought to have been put, and pass in the Affirmative, since no Instance could be given, that the List of Pensions was denied, when called for by either House of Parliament; and we cannot imagine there can ever be a more proper Time to address to the Crown for that List to be laid before this House, than when they are to enter upon the Consideration of a Bill, which is calculated to prevent the Members of the House of Commons for the future, from sitting or voting under any undue Influence.

2. Because we conceive the Refusal of complying with this Question, will be misinterpreted without Doors, whether the Bill shall pass, or be rejected: For, in one Case, it will give just Reason to believe the List of Pensions was filled with Members of the House of Commons; and tho' this House would concur to prevent the Evil, they were tender of exposing the Names of particular Persons; in the other Case, it would raise a Jealousy, that there were too many Members of this House who were upon that List, which Aspersions ought, as we conceive, to have been obviated by producing those Lists, and making them

them publick, as in former times has been frequently done.

<i>Berkshire</i>	<i>Oxford and</i>	<i>Thanet</i>	<i>Litchfield</i>
<i>Coventry</i>	<i>Mortimer</i>	<i>Bathurst</i>	<i>Gower</i>
<i>Aylesford</i>	<i>Beaufort</i>	<i>Strafford</i>	<i>Hereford.</i>
<i>Abingdon</i>	<i>Foley</i>		



The LORDS PROTEST

*On the Question for rejecting the Pension-Bill,
and the Second Reading of the Mutiny-Bill.*

Die Sabbati 21mo Martij, 1729.

HODIE 2da vice lecta est Billa, entitled,
“ An Act for making more effectual the
“ Laws in Being, for disabling Persons from
“ being chosen Members, or Sitting or Voting in
“ the House of Commons, who have any Pension,
“ during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or
“ any Offices holden in Trust for them, by obliging
“ all Persons hereafter to be chosen, to serve for the
“ Commons in Parliament, to take the Oath therein
“ mentioned.

Propos'd to commit the Bill.

After long Debate thereupon,

The Question was put, Whether this Bill shall be committed?

It was resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient

1. Because all Objections against particular Clauses or Expressions in the Bill, would have been regularly the Subjects of Debate in a Committee, and might have been removed, if it should have appeared necessary, by making such Amendments to the Bill, as the Wisdom of the House should have thought proper.

2. Because we conceive the general Design of this Bill to be highly reasonable, and of the greatest Importance to the Constitution of Parliaments, and are therefore extreamly concern'd, it should not receive even the Countenance of a Commitment, when
the

the House of Commons, who alone would have been immediately affected by it, had pass'd it, and, as we apprehend, with so much Regard to their Country, and so much Honour to themselves.

3. Because this Bill does, in Effect, enact nothing new, since it only enforces the Observation, and prevents the Evasion of former Laws, which were judg'd necessary for the publick Good, by so many Parliaments, and which we do not apprehend, that our Experience since, has given us Reason to look upon as less necessary for the same Purposes at this Time. By one of these Laws, no Person who has a Pension from the Crown during Pleasure, can sit in the House of Commons; but the Effect of this Law was, or might have been evaded in great measure, by Grants of Pensions for certain Terms of Years, whereof we presume that Examples have not been wanting. To remedy, or prevent this Abuse, it was enacted by another Law, That no Person who enjoys a Pension from the Crown for any Number of Years, shall sit in the House of Commons, under certain Penalties therein mentioned; but the Effect of this Law likewise is, or may be, entirely evaded several Ways. It is, or may be, evaded, by giving occasional Gratuities, or making annual Presents, which will not be construed to fall under the Denomination of Pensions, and which are known in their Nature, and must be in their Effect, manifestly the same. It is, or may be evaded also, by the Difficulty of discovering and convicting those who presume to break it, since there is Ground to believe, by what has happened lately in this House, as well as on some other Occasions, that the Commons would find it difficult to obtain these Accounts, which can only shew what Pensions are paid to particular Persons. We observe farther, that by the Laws now in Force, all those who hold certain Offices therein specified, as well as all those who hold any Offices erected since that Time, are made incapable of sitting in the House of Commons; and that whosoever accepts of any Office or Employment under the Crown, cannot sit in that House, till he has been re-elected. Now, it appears to us, that all those good and laudable Provisions may be rendered (*useless*) fruitless; that

that the House of Commons may be fill'd with Persons who are by Law incapable of sitting there; that the Electors may be deprived of that reasonable Option which the Law has given them, whether they will trust the same Person, to represent them after he has accepted an Employment, whom they elected to represent them when he had none; and that all this may be effected by the single Expedient of getting an Office or Employment to be held by some Person who is not a Member of the House of Commons, in Trust for who is. We shall not determine on publick Fame, or private Suspicion, whether all, or some of these Abuses and Evasions of so many Acts of Parliament have prevailed, or not; but since it is evident, that they may easily be introduced under a corrupt Administration, we must be of Opinion, that a Law which would prevent them as effectually, as we believe the Bill sent up by the Commons would have done, could not have met with too great Encouragement from this House, nor have been passed too soon.

4. Because it appears to us, that the Arguments against this Bill, drawn from the Necessity or Expediency of preserving an Influence to the Crown, by the Power of rewarding, are either not at all to the present Purpose, or else are applied to prove, that an Influence guarded against by so many solemn Acts of Parliament, should be admitted by the Connivance of Parliament. And we think it would be much more for the Honour of this House, if these Arguments were of real Weight, to be prevailed upon by them, directly to repeal the Laws above-mentioned, than, by rejecting a Bill design'd to render those Laws effectual, to seem, as we apprehend, to approve all the Evasions of them which have been, or can be invented, or put in Practice.

5. Because we think, that altho' this Bill tends to restrain any illegal and dangerous Influence over the House of Commons, yet it leaves such an Influence entire to the Crown, as will appear at least sufficient, when we consider, that there are in the present House of Commons hardly less than Two Hundred Members who hold such Offices and Employments under the Crown, as would have continued to be tenable
by

by them, if this Bill had passed, and even the Power of granting Pensions for Life to Members of Parliament openly, would have still remain'd in the Crown.

6. Because, strictly speaking, all Influence over either House of Parliament, except that which arises from a Sense of those Duties we owe to our King, and to our Country, are improper; and the particular Influences which this Bill was intended to prevent, are not only improper, but may, and naturally must, in Course of Time, become extremely pernicious, both to the Crown and to the People. For first, Altho' this Influence appears to be that of the Crown, it may become virtually that of the Minister, and be applied to deceive the Prince, as well as to oppress the People; if ever a corrupt Minister should have the Disposition of Places, and the Distribution of Pensions, Gratuities, and Rewards, he may create such an Influence, as shall effectually deprive the Prince of the great Advantage of shewing the true Sense of his People. And a House of Parliament being prevail'd upon to approve such Measures as the *whole Nation dislikes*, so may be confirm'd in the Pursuit of them, and for the sake of an *unworthy Servant*, lose the Affections of his People, whilst he imagines that he both deserves and possesses them. In the next Place, if ever this improper Influence should obtain a certain Degree of Strength, these terrible Consequences must inevitably follow from it. That the worst Proposals for the Publick will be the most likely to succeed, and that the weakest Ministers will be the best supported. The Reason whereof we take to be extremely plain, since this improper Influence may be directed to any Purpose whatsoever, and will always be most expected where it is most wanted, in the Support of ill Measures, and weak Ministers.

7. Because we agree, that as *National*, or other Services, have expos'd the Crown to any new Danger, the Security of Fidelity and Allegiance given by the Oaths of the Subjects to the Crown, has been increas'd from time to time; and we therefore think, that, by a Parity of Reason, some greater Security than was formerly exacted, should be now given to the Nation by their Representatives, for a faithful Discharge

charge of the Trust reposed in them, because this Trust, which is the same as it was in every other Respect, is come to be much greater than it was, in Respect to those heavy Taxes which have for many Years past, and which, as we fear, must be for all succeeding Times, annually laid by Parliament on the People, as well as to those immense Debts which have been contracted, and which we apprehend to have annually increas'd upon the Nation. The Service of the House of Commons was formerly a *real* Service, therefore often declin'd and always paid for by the People: It is now no longer paid for by the People; and yet far from being declin'd, it has been courted and sought after at great Expence. How far these Considerations, together with that of the vast Increase of the Civil-List Revenue, and of the Debts contracted on it in former Reigns, deserve to enforce the Reasons for exacting some new and strong Engagements from the Members of the House of Commons, to those whom they are chosen to represent, is, we think, sufficiently obvious.

8. Altho' it must be allowed, that the multiplying of Oaths without great and evident Reasons, ought to be avoided, yet an Oath being the most solemn Engagement which Men can be laid under, we judge it, on that very Account, the more proper to be impos'd, upon this important Occasion, nor will the Probability of its being broke thro' by the Iniquity of Mankind, be an Argument of greater Force against this Bill, than against any other Law made for preventing any other Crime whatsoever.

Huntingdon	Craven	Boyle	Berkshire
Northampton	Thanet	Hereford	Oxford and
Bathurst	Plymouth	Coventry	Mortimer
Sunderland	Montjoy	Massam	Litchfield
Gower	Ker	Bruce	Maynard
Aylesford	Warrington	Strafford	Bristol.
Foley	Abingdon	Beaufort	

Then the Question was put, Whether the said Bill shall be rejected?

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

D

Dissentient

Dissentient

1. Because the evident Intention of this Bill, was only to make a farther Advance towards gaining that good End, which the Legislature hitherto has, we fear, too weakly endeavoured to compass, *The Prevention of Corruption*; which, it must be owned, is an Evil of so mischievous a Nature, so apt to spread and grow epidemical, that a wise and virtuous People will apply the most timely and most effectual Remedies that can be devised for the Cure of it; since a Nation once infected must soon get the better of so contagious a Distemper, or it will soon get the better of the Nation.

2. Because we can hardly frame in our Minds a more reasonable Method, than the Sanction of such an Oath of Purgation as was to have been taken by all the Members of the House of Commons, if this Bill had passed into a Law, to preserve that Part of the Legislature pure and free from that kind of Bribery, which seems from the Nature of it to be the most pernicious, *a secret and unavow'd Pension*; or what, however different in Name, would, we fear, be too much the same in Effect, an Office in Trust, or a clandestine Gratuity.

3. Because the Act of Parliament which pass'd last Year, tho' it contain'd some excellent Provisions against Bribery and Corruption, and ought, in our Opinion, ever to be held *Sacred, Inviolable*, and a *fundamental Part* of our yet free Constitution, wanted still something, as we judge, to make it more compleat, by establishing an Oath for the Elected, as well as the Electors; which being done by this Bill, we cannot but look upon it to have been a seasonable and necessary Addition to those Laws already enacted for the same Purpose, in order to guard us more strongly against the powerful and malignant Influence of *Wicked, Aspiring, and Despotick Ministers*, who invent no Artifices so likely to subvert the Liberties of the People, as by corrupting those who are chosen to defend them.

4. Because we apprehend the House of Commons may think themselves unkindly treated by us for rejecting a Bill sent from them, of great Consequence, by which they design'd only to secure their own Honour,

nour, and the Nation's Liberties, and that concern'd only their own Members, without allowing it even the usual Forms of a Commitment; and the rest of our Fellow-Subjects will, we fear, hardly be charitable enough to think, that one House of Parliament could be perfectly unbiass'd, when it refus'd so proper an Expedient to make, in a great Measure, the other so,

Huntingdon	Craven	Boyle	Berkshire
Northampton	Thanet	Hereford	Oxford and
Bathurst	Plymouth	Covebury	Mortimer
Sunderland	Montjoy	Massam	Litchfield
Gower	Ker	Bruce	Maynard
Aylesford	Warrington	Strafford	Bristol.
Foley	Abingdon	Beaufort	

The LORDS PROTEST

On the Bill for punishing Mutiny and Desertion.

Die Lunæ 23 Martij, 1729.

H O D I E *tertia vice lecta est Billa, entitled,*
 “ An Act for punishing Mutiny and Desertion,
 “ and for the better Payment of the Army
 “ and their Quarters.”

The Question was put, Whether this Bill shall pass?

It was resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient

Because we think, that so large a Number of Troops as is proposed to be kept up in this Kingdom for this Year, by this Bill, is not necessary for our Safety, as far as we can judge from the present Conjunction of Affairs; and that a Standing Army, in Time of Peace, must be always burthensome to the People, and dangerous to their Liberties, for Reasons often given by several Lords, and remaining upon the Journals of this House, to which we chuse to refer, rather than repeat them, in order to prove a Proposition, that we think almost manifest in it self, or, at least, may easily be maintain'd by Arguments un-

deniably convincing, and so obvious, in our Opinion, that they must occur, upon the least Reflection, to every *Englisman*, who loves his Country and his Freedom.

Montjoy
Strassford

Beaufort
Abingdon.



The LORDS PROTEST

On the State of the Nation.

Die Veneris 19 Aprilis, 1730.

THE Order of the Day for taking into farther Consideration the State of the Nation, being Read,

Moved to Resolve, That the Maintaining of 12000 *Hessians* in the Pay of *Great Britain* for the Year 1730, is burthensome and unnecessary.

After Debate, the Question was put thereupon, And it was resolved in the Negative.

Dissentient?

1. Because we think the maintaining Foreign Troops in our Pay; where we have no Territory, and not only when we have no War, but immediately after a Peace, concluded with one of the most considerable Powers in *Europe*, whilst we are in Alliance with *Holland*, and are in strict Friendship with *France*, the most considerable Power of all; is a Policy that, before this Instance of it, cannot be parallel'd, as far as we can recollect, in all our Annals; and must be owing to the Advice of Ministers less cautious, and less concern'd for the true Interest of this Kingdom, than their Duty obliged them to be; and we cannot, out of the Regard we owe our Posterity, consent to it.

2. Because the Importance of the Service in which they are designed to be employed does no way appear to us, and we fear it may create an Apprehension that they may be intended for Purposes that do not concern

cern *Great Britain*; which is a Jealousy, however ill founded, that we are perswaded from his Majesty's Goodness, he will be always inclined to prevent, for his People's Sake; and his Counsellors, we think, ought, if possible, to prevent for their own.

3. Because we think it would be an unreasonable Burthen upon the People at any time, but we look upon it to be particularly so at this, whilst we are still heavily loaded with an immense National Debt, severe Annual Taxes, oppressive and perpetual Excises, and have had, of late, the additional Misfortune of an unusual and excessive Dearthness of almost all Necessaries for Living; whilst our Commerce (we cannot but fear) has been declining for some Years, and many valuable Branches of it running into other Channels, from whence we have but little Expectation of ever deriving them again into our own; when the dubious and unhappy Situation of Affairs, under which we have laboured of late, has reduced many substantial Merchants to Poverty; and has been productive of other ill Consequences that we apprehend, will be sensibly felt for some Time by the whole Nation; when the Sum which is to be allowed for the Maintenance of these Troops, is at least Sixpence in the Pound, on every landed Man's Estate in *England*, and when we avowedly pay, at the same Time, greater Subsidies to other foreign Princes, than our present Circumstances (in our Opinion) can well bear, or than any wise Reasons of State seem to require.

4. Because it does not appear to us, that his Majesty, either in any Speech, or by any Message, has demanded any Supply, for what seems to us so extraordinary a Charge; and he seems not to think them necessary for our Safety at Home, since he has lately disbanded some of our own; and we cannot find that we are under any direct Stipulation, to maintain them for the Safety of any of our Allies Abroad, who notwithstanding the various Engagements and Multiplicity of Treaties, with which we have, within the Compass of a few Years, most incautiously (as we fear) entangled our selves, have no Right to require Succours from us, till, by some Molestation, or hostile Attack, the publick Tranquillity is disturbed; which Misfortune may still (as we hope) be prevented, if such Measures

are

are taken, as it becomes able and upright Statesmen always to pursue; if the Reputation of our Wisdom and Power is alone sufficient (as it ought to be) to produce us equal and useful Alliances (and it always will be, when the Affairs of the Kingdom are administered as they ought to be) and if, to save our Friends from Dangers, that perhaps are only imaginary, we do not run into real ones our selves.

Berkshire	Strafford	Plymouth	Boyle
Northampton	Maynard	Gower	Montjoy
Huntingdon	Aylesford	Coventry	Oxford and
Craven	Willoughby de Brook	Litchfield	Mortimer.
Searisdale	Abingdon		



The Joint and Separate Account or Narrative of George Colcott, and Robert Jones, Mariners, relating to what passed at their several Meetings with others, about the Affair of DUNKIRK.

THE said George Colcott saith, that when he was with Mr. Carke's, the Secretary to the Commissioners of the Customs, at the Custom-House, on Wednesday the 4th Day of February last, he received a Message, that a Gentleman wanted to speak with him at the Swan Tavern by Billingsgate; the said George Colcott went thither, and there found one Thomas Stepping, sitting with Mr. Brinsden of Durham-Yard. Upon Colcott's entering the Room, Stepping told Mr. Brinsden, that was Mr. Colcott, and then Brinsden said he was glad to see him, and desired him to sit down, which Colcott did, and thereupon Brinsden took a Glass of Wine and drank Captain Busbell's Health to Colcott. Colcott asked him if he knew Mr. Busbell, to which he answered, No, but had heard a very good Character of him. Brinsden then

George Colcott.
Robert Jones.

then asked *Collcott* if he knew *Mr. Bedford* and *Mr. Johnson*, Merchants of *DUNKIRK*; to which he answered, Yes. *Brinsden* then asked, if they (the said Merchants) were concerned in Coals, for he had a Mind to send over Coals and Lead to that Place. *Collcott* told him, the properest Person to apply to was one *Mr. Peter Stevall*, who was Broker to all the Colliers that came there. *Mr. Brinsden* then looked into his Pocket-Book, and said, you are much in the Right of it, that is the proper Person. *Collcott* asked *Brinsden* if he had got a Ship fit for the Trade, for *DUNKIRK* was a difficult Place to go to; *Brinsden* said he had a Ship. *Collcott* asked him what Country built Ship she was, and he said *Scarborough*. *Collcott* further asked, what Water she drew. *Brinsden* answered, they say, Fourteen Foot and an Half; to which *Collcott* replied, that Draught of Water would not do for a Collier to that Place, (meaning *Dunkirk*.) *Collcott* asked *Brinsden*, if he had a Master for the Ship? To which he answered, No. *Mr. Collcott* reply'd, he would willingly serve him as a Master, and said that he had been concerned in a Collier, but did not care to be concerned in a Ship that drew so much Water as Fourteen Foot and an Half; but if he would buy a Floaty Ship, such an one as he could recommend to him at *Yarmouth*, he would be concerned with him, and go 100 *l.* with him, and begin the Trade with him as soon as he pleased. *Brinsden* said, he was told there was Water enough in *Dunkirk Harbour*. *Collcott* answered, the Harbour was good, taking Times and Seasons; but it would not answer to lie in *Dunkirk Road*, and there to lighten a Collier; there must be a Floaty Vessel for that Business. *Brinsden* having said, that he was informed the Harbour was good, *Collcott* said, Sir, I find you want an Information relating to *Dunkirk Harbour*, and added that he could give him as good an Information as any Man in *England*, but said he would not do or say any thing about it, unless he (*Brinsden*) would give him his Word and Honour, that he would use his best Efforts to get *Mr. Bushell* over. *Brinsden* then

George Collcott.
Robert Jones.

then said, don't take this Meeting for an Invitation, but if you will meet me at the *Sun Tavern* behind the *Exchange* next *Saturday*, he would give him, *Collcott*, a further Account of the Matter, and he should see in a little Time those worthy Gentlemen that would certainly gain Mr. *Busbell's* Liberty. After which Mr. *Brinsden* pulled out a Plan of *Dunkirk*, as it stood before it was demolished, and asked *Collcott* several Questions about the Reparations that had been made, which *Collcott* prickt off upon the Plan, and said, that was nothing to what it was now; but when he saw the Gentlemen, he would give them a Plan of it himself: *Brinsden* then talked much of the great Decay of Trade, and how the People of *Dunkirk* increased in Trade, and that instead of our supplying them with Sugars, as we used to do, the *French* now did it themselves: After which *Brinsden* and *Collcott* parted.

Pursuant to the Appointment made by Mr. *Brinsden* to meet at the *Sun Tavern*, Mr. *Collcott* went thither, and carried with him the said *Robert Jones*, on *Saturday* the Seventh Day of *February*, about Three of the Clock, where they dined in a large Room, with a Screen before the Door, at which time were present *John Taylor*, *William Manowry*, *Thomas Stepping*, *Thomas Jenkins*, and one Mr. *Eales*, Nephew to Mr. *Brinsden*. The said *George Collcott* and *Robert Jones* say, that *Brinsden* frequently went in and out of the Room; and just after Dinner, *Brinsden* laid a Plan of *Dunkirk* upon the Table, which the Persons presently look'd into, and pass'd their Sentiments upon it; after which he withdrew. The said *Eales* then desired Silence, and pulled a Paper out of his Pocket, which he read, containing a Description of the Harbour, in which the said *Collcott* made some Alterations; upon which the said *Eales* withdrew, and went into another Room for half an Hour, and returned with another Paper, and offer'd it to the Persons then present, to be signed, but *Robert Jones* objected to the Signing of it, unless he had a Promise, that *Busbell* should be brought over. *Brinsden* thereupon took the said *Jones* by the Hand, and assured him, that it should be done; and Captain
Taylor

George Collcott.
Robert Jones.

Taylor said, he expected in a Fornight's Time to go over for him himself. *Brinsden* called *Capt. Jenkins* out of the Room, and *Collicott* followed them, and desired that *Jenkins* might not be drawn in to sign the Paper, for that it would be a Prejudice to him and his Family, as he was a Man that used the *Dunkirk* Trade; upon which he was excus'd.

On *Monday* the ninth Day of *February*, *Eales* got all the Persons that were at the *Sun* Tavern together, and one *Capt. Francis Williams*, at the *Swan* in *Thames-Street*, about Ten in the Morning, from whence they all went in Coaches to *Mr. Brinsden's* House in *Durham-Yard*, where they were carried into a Parlour, and entertained with Wine. They were carried one by one into a Room up two Pair of Stairs, to be examined separately, where there were two *Mr. Pulteneys*, *Sir William Windham*, a tall thin young Gentleman, whose Name they knew not, another tall Gentleman, that stoops a little, and seemed to be about 50 Years of Age, who *Mr. Eales* said, was a Lord, and the first Letter of his Title was a B, and *Mr. Brinsden*.

The said *George Collicott* says, That when he was examined there, *Sir William Windham* asked him, how long he had known *Dunkirk*? To which he answered, Twenty Years. *Sir William* then said, that he had known it long before the Demolition of it, and made several Enquiries about the former and present Situation of *Dunkirk*, and put the same or such like Questions to him, as he did in the House of Commons; to which the said *Collicott* gave the same Answers that he did there. *George Collicott* afterwards said to *Sir William*, and the rest of the Gentlemen there, that as he had given them a fair and true Account of the Condition of *Dunkirk*, he hoped they would deal honourably by him, and get *Mr. Busbell* a Discharge from all his Troubles, that he might come home; to which *William Pulteney*, Esq; said, *Mr. Collicott*, do you know what *Mr. Busbell* is indebted to the Crown? Does he owe 200l.? *Collicott* said, Sir, I am afraid he is heavily loaded, and signified

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to

George Collicott.
Robert Jones.

to them that the Prosecution was for treble the Value, the Information having been laid in Time. The Gentlemen then disputed, whether they should send for him; upon which it was said by some of them, perhaps they will lay him in Goal when he does come over; and so it was agreed amongst them to stay and see how the Affair would go, but desired *Collcott* to write to him, and cheer him up, and let him know, that in a little Time they would get his Discharge, and procure his Liberty; and in Pursuance thereof, the said *Collcott* did write to that Effect to Mr. *Busbell*. *Collcott* was called up a second Time to the said Gentlemen, and then told them he had given an Account of several indirect Practices carried on in the Trade between *Dunkirk* and *Ireland*, and other Places, of which he had Information from *Busbell*, but could not get Relief for him; To which the said Gentlemen said, that it was a lamentable Case that the poor Man could not be relieved, but that they would take Care and get his Business done in a little time.

The said *Robert Jones* says, That he was called up two Pair of Stairs to the said Gentlemen, and was examined about the present Situation of *Dunkirk*, and the Reparations made in the Harbour, to which he gave them Answers, which Sir *William Windham* and Mr. *Pulteney* minuted down. About the Middle of the Examination, *Jones* told them, he would proceed no farther, unless he had a Promise for the Discharge or Relief of Mr. *Busbell*; upon which, Mr. *Pulteney*, and the tall elderly Man, called the Lord, took him by the Hand, and assured him, that he should see Mr. *Busbell* here in five or six Days Time, and by their Promises the said *Robert Jones* did expect to see him set at Liberty in a few Days.

The said *George Collcott* and *Robert Jones* say, that they, and the said *Manowry*, *Stepping*, *Taylor*, *Jenkins*, *Williams*, and *Eales*, went from Mr. *Brinsden*'s House, to dine at the *Cross-Keys*, near *Covent-Garden*; and after Dinner Mr. *Brinsden* came to them, and told them they must stay at that End of the Town all Night, and that there were Porters ready to send to their Houses

George Collcott.
Robert Jones.

Houses to let their Wives know they would not be at Home that Night, and they did write to that Effect. *Brinsden* and *Taylor* frequently talked privately together; and whilst *Colcott*, *Jones*, and the others were writing to their Wives, *Brinsden* wrote a Letter or Note to Mr. *Joseph Taylor* at *Bridewell*, on the said Captain *Taylor's* Account; and Captain *Taylor* afterwards told *Colcott* and *Jones*, that the Note or Letter written by *Brinsden* to Mr. *Joseph Taylor*, was for him to go to Mr. *Metcalf*, Solicitor of the Customs, to discharge the Prosecution against him, and make Satisfaction to the Government, which *Taylor* said was more than 200*l*. *Brinsden* then told them he had provided Beds and a Supper for them at the *Star Inn* in the *Strand*, to which Place they went, attended by Mr. *Eales*; where they all, except *Jones* and *Eales*, lay. About Ten o'Clock the next Morning Mr. *Brinsden* and one Mr. *Watson* came to them; *Brinsden* expressed his Satisfaction in seeing them there, but did not stay, and left Mr. *Watson* with them, to take Care of them, who having called for some Liquor for them, laid the Plan of *Dunkirk* before them, that they might make their Observations thereupon. About a Quarter after Eleven, Mr. *Watson* and they went in Coaches to the *Ordnance Coffee-House*, in *Old-Palace-Yard*, where they staid, till they were examined before the House of Commons. Mr. *Watson* and Mr. *Eales* continued with them all that Time. After their Examination they went to the *Sun Tavern* at *Westminster*, with Mr. *Watson* and Mr. *Eales*. Mr. *Eales* was several Times called out, and when he returned the last Time, he told them that the House of Commons was up, that they had Thanks for what they had done, that his Uncle *Brinsden* gave his Service to them, and would have waited upon them, but that it was reported, that they had been bribed; however he would take a proper Opportunity to gratify them all.

The said *George Colcott* says, that Captain *Williams* told him he had gotten Security for his Vessel and Effects, and was indemnified from all Accidents, and

George Colcott.
Robert Jones.

was going to *Dunkirk*, and desired *Collcott* to write to *Benjamin Hayes*, *Busbell's* Clerk, to come over; *Collcott* said that *Benjamin* had an Employment, and it would ruin him to be brought over hither, unless he was to be provided for; *Williams* answered, that he had mention'd that to the Gentlemen that were at *Brinsden's* House, and they had assured him, they would get him a Clerkship, and *Williams* said, the same Gentlemen had given him Security for his Vessel, and for his Effects, which were worth a Thousand Pound, and were in Mr. *Peter Stevall's* Hands in *Dunkirk*. *Williams* further told him, That Mr. *Pulteney* had given an Order upon the Treasurer of the Forces at *Calais*, to pay an Hundred Livres for *Benjamin Hayes's* Passage to *England*. *Collcott* accordingly wrote to *Benjamin Hayes*, who immediately came over, and on his Arrival *Collcott* carried him to Mr. *Brinsden's*, in *Durham-Yard*, to whom he introduced him; at which Time there was at *Brinsden's*, *Alexander Chisholm*, *John Winter* and *John Manowry*. *Brinsden* asked several Questions of *Benjamin Hayes* about *Dunkirk*, but much did not pass before a Coach came to the Door, in which was Sir *William Windham* and Mr. *Pulteney*, who got out, and went up two Pair of Stairs; soon after another Coach came, in which were the tall elderly Gentleman, before-mentioned, called my Lord, and the said tall thin young Gentleman, who likewise went up two Pair of Stairs. *Benjamin Hayes*, Mr. *Manowry*, *Alexander Chisholm*, *John Winter*, and one *Thorond* were separately called up into the two Pair of Stairs Room, and examined; and afterwards *George Collcott* was called up, and the Gentlemen thanked him for the Care he had taken to get *Benjamin* over, and *Chisholm* up to Town. After that they were carried to the *Half-Moon Tavern* in the *Strand*, by *Eales*, where there was a very handsome Dinner provided for them. *Robert Jones* says, that the tall elderly Gentleman above-mentioned, that was at *Brinsden's* House, was the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, whom he saw when he came from *France*, and rode by his Coach Side

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Side between *Dover* and *Sittingbourn*, saw him likewise at *Sittingbourn*, at Dinner, and has seen him at several other Times. And *Jones* says, that when he was at *Brinsden's* House, *Eales* shewed him a Picture there, which he said was the Lord *Bolingbroke's*, and said that his Lordship would be there in a little time.

The said *George Collcott* and *Robert Jones* say, that on *Wednesday* the 18th Day of *February* they and *Manowry*, *Taylor*, *Stepping*, *Jenkins*, and *Eales*, dined at the *Ship Tavern* behind the *Royal Exchange*, at which Time Mr. *Eales* produced a * SONG about *Dunkirk*, which they sang, and *Brinsden* went several Times backwards and forwards. *Brinsden* took *Jones* by the Hand, and told him, that this Affair (meaning that of *Dunkirk*) would be of particular Service to him; and turning to *Collcott*, said; and as for you, Mr. *Collcott*, we will take particular Care of you, and expressed himself to the like Effect to the rest of the Company. *Collcott* and *Jones* further say, that Mr. *Brinsden* told them, that if they succeeded in the Affair about *Dunkirk*, there would be Vacancies for every body that had given their Attendance on that Occasion.

George Collcott says, that *Stepping* has told him, that he never was at *Dunkirk* but twice in his Life; and when *Stepping* was framing his Speech that he was to make to the House of Commons, and speaking of two Ships that had been lighten'd, and were going out of the old Road into the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and saying they went in when the Water was falling, and mentioning the Tonnage of the Vessel, which Facts *Collcott* knowing to be false, told him, That though he was not to be upon Oath before the House of Commons, he might be upon Oath in another Place, and bid him take care what he said.

And *Collcott* says, that what *Manowry* related to the House of Commons about Stores being provided at *Dunkirk* was false; and verily believes that what

Taylor

George Collcott.

Robert Jones.

Taylor and *Manowry* said and did upon that Occasion, was done on Purpose to get themselves discharged from Prosecutions; upon which Account they enlarged in the Relation they gave of the *Dunkirk* Affair, as he verily believes.

And the said *George Colcott* and *Robert Jones* say, That they understood from the Conversation in general, which they had at all their Meetings aforesaid, that the Complaint and Noise about *Dunkirk*, was made with an Intent to break the Peace, and overturn *Sir Robert Walpole*, and to cast a Slur upon the present Measures, which they constantly ridiculed.

The said *George Colcott* and *Robert Jones* say, That at all their said several Meetings they were treated, and believe that all the Reckonings were paid by *Eales*, except that at the *Star Inn*, which was paid by *Taylor*. And *George Colcott* says, that having Occasion to go out, when he was at Mr. *Brinsden's* House in *Durham-Tard*, upon his Return he saw *John Taylor* pulling his Hand out of his Pocket, and at the same Time heard him say to Mr. *Brinsden*, If I have not enough, I will let you know; by which he understood, that he had then received some Money of Mr. *Brinsden*, and should receive more as Occasion required.

The said *George Colcott* saith, that on *Monday* the 23d Day of *February* last, he, *Manowry*, *Chisholm*, *Benjamin Hayes*, and *Taylor*, were all together at the said *Taylor's* House, where they were entertained with *French Wine*. He further says, That a certain Ship being launched last *November* into the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and built just below the Town Key, concerning which Captain *Taylor* reported, that she drew Eleven Foot Water abaft, when launched, he, the said *Colcott* took particular Notice of the said Ship, and saith, that she drew no more than Eight Foot abaft, and Five Foot forward.

George Colcott.
Robert Jones.

George Colcott of *St. Catherine's* in the County of *Middlesex*, Mariner, and *Robert Jones*, of *Tower-Street*, *London*, Mariner, jointly and severally make Oath, That the Account and Narrative given by them, as above contained in Nine Pages, of which every Page is signed with their own Hands, so far as it relates to each other, is just and true.

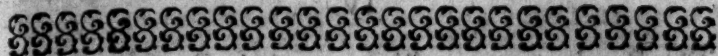
Fur at undecimo die Martij

Ann' Dom' 1729.

coram.

John Goufon.

George Colcott,
Robert Jones,



*The SAILORS SONG: Or, Dunkirk
Restor'd. A New Ballad. Tune of, To all
you Ladies now at Land, &c.*

I.

TO all ye *Merchants* now at Land,
We Men at Sea indite;
But first would have you understand,
How hard it is to write:
It mayn't be safe the Truth to say;
If silent, *Britain* we betray.
With a fal, &c.

II.

Fam'd DUNKIRK, raz'd by our good Queen,
Our Commerce to maintain,
Is now restor'd; for we have seen
Her *Ships* float on the Main:
Your *Trade* requires your *timely Care*;
Heav'n knows you have not much to spare!
With a fal, &c.

III.

The Slaves that cringe to GALLIA's Court,
Say, still there is no Landing;
As tho' the *Water*, in that *Port*,
Was like their Understanding:
But *Britain*, to her Cost hath found
France is a float, and she a ground.
With a fal, &c.

IV. The

IV.

The *Brethren* two will pawn their Ears,
 That Ships from out that Station,
 Will scour the *Flemish Privateers*,
 In Friendship to our Nation:
 The *Priest*, on whom they pin their Hopes,
 Demands more Faith than Fifty Popes.
With a fal, &c.

V.

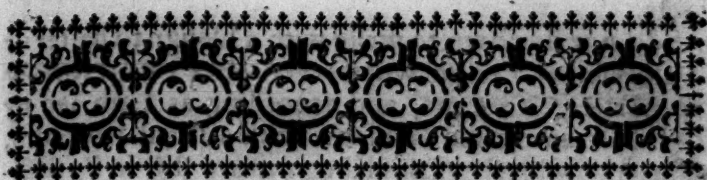
But let him not again deceive,
 By new *Memoire* or *Letter*;
 Far less *His* Evidence receive,
 Who should have *raz'd* it better;
 For *He*, who's coming now from *France*,
 Will tell us all was done by Chance.
With a fal, &c.

VI.

Yet how this *Harbour* was repair'd,
 Is still a wond'rous Riddle;
 The Piles withdrew, the Stones uprear'd,
 Like *THEBES*, by Harp and Fiddle.
 What made these Piles and Sands retire?
 The *Orphean*, or *HORACIAN* Lyre?
With a fal, &c.

VII.

Be't as it will, the Land complains,
 Then, *Britons*, speak your Mind;
 The dear-bought Fruits of *TEN CAMPAIGNS*
 Must never be resign'd:
 Speak on, true *Britons*, down it goes;
 For *Dunkirk's* Friends are *Britain's* Foes.
With a fal, &c.



The CASE of *DUNKIRK*
Faithfully Stated, and Impartially
Considered. By a Member of
the *House of Commons*.

IT is of so great Importance to this Nation that *Dunkirk* should continue in that demolish'd, ruin'd Condition, to which it was reduced in Consequence of the Treaty of *Utrechts*, that we cannot be surprized at the great Uneasinesses and Complaints, since the Publick became acquainted with the Progress the *French* have been suffered to make towards the restoring that Port and Harbour.

The Consideration of this Affair hath been brought into Parliament; where, tho' it has not met with Censure, it has not met with Approbation. The Wisdom of the Commons did not think fit, in a Conjunction, represented to be so critical, to speak on Form of what has passed. They contented themselves, for the present, with thanking his Majesty for the Instances he made to *France*. The Issue of these important Affairs is still depending, and may probably occasion a farther Enquiry.

In the mean time, it must be of Service to inform the Publick, more particularly than has been yet done, of the whole Transactions hitherto relating to it. My Intention therefore is, agreeably to the Title prefixed to these Papers, to state, as exactly as I am able, the Sum of what has passed in the Disputes about the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, from the Treaty of *Utrecht* to the last Session of Parliament; and to make such Observations on the Conduct of *Great Britain* and of *France*, as seem to my best Judgment obviously

and undeniably to result from the Series of Facts.

I do not sit down to write with a Design to flatter or to asperse any Person whatsoever. But I shall follow the Matter before me, and according as I am led by it, I shall commend or blame with all that Freedom, which the Subjects of this Kingdom are still in Possession of, and which I hope we shall never resign, as long as there remains a Tongue to speak, and an Hand to act in *Great Britain*.

He who attacks a Minister, or any other Man, without sufficient Foundation, is certainly guilty of a very great Crime. But he, who attacks with Fact and Reason on his Side, is so far an honest Man and a good Subject. His Writings are no Libels. That odious Term belongs to those, which are published against him.

Who I am that undertake this Task may, perhaps, be the Object of some People's Curiosity. But this is a Matter of no Importance to the Merits of the Cause. Let them examine the Facts I advance, and weigh the Arguments I employ, and the Observations I make. If the first are not founded in Truth, and the others in Reason, let them triumph in my Defeat, whoever I am. But if the first will bear the Touchstone, and if the others preponderate in the Scale, let them not submit to me, but let them submit to Truth and Reason, by whomsoever presented to them.

I do not apprehend that any of our political Writers will be in the Case of Triumphant on this Occasion; and I am very sure that many of them will not submit even in the other Case. When Argument fails, they have Recourse to their usual Topicks of Ribaldry and Adulation. I shall very probably be a *squat, fair Gentleman* in one Paper; a *petit Maitre* of Fifty in another, and *Somebody* else in a third; for each of these Authors supposes the Man he writes against to be the Person he has the most Mind to rail at, or is best paid for railing at. Our Ministers will be Heroes in all; the *profoundest Statesmen*; the *most disinterested Patriots*; and our *flourishing Condition* at Home, as well as the noble *Figure* we make Abroad, will be the Subject of much Declamation.

Now;

Now, all this will do little Hurt and little Good, either to the Person scratched, or to the Person tickled. But it would do a great deal of Hurt to the Publick, if it should divert, in any Degree, that national Spirit, with which the Case of *Dunkirk* ought to be considered.

Among all the Artifices which are employed to keep Mankind from seeing and embracing the Truth, no one is more gross, and there is but one more prevalent, than that of turning their Eyes from Things to Persons. If a false Heart, a foul Tongue, and a Front of *Brass*, can create Prejudices against the most innocent Man alive, the bare Suspicion that such a Man is of an Opinion, shall be urged as an Argument against it, and on that solid Foundation it shall be established, that two and three are not equal to five. But this is not all; for as Prejudices are applied to this Purpose, so are Partialities. In Cases, where private Honour and publick Justice are both concerned, the Consequences of hurting a Man, in whose Favour we have been made to entertain an habitual, tho' groundless Partiality, is sometimes press'd as a Reason for complying with neither. These Mischiefs, like many others, are chiefly to be found where *Parties* have long prevailed; and it often happens that they continue to have some Effect, even when the Parties subsist no longer, and among those, who have all the same Views, because they have all the same Interests.

Whether any Attempts like these have been lately made to influence particular Men in the Case of *Dunkirk*, I shall not determine. But it cannot be amiss to warn against them at all Times, and especially when we see so much Pains taken to keep these Prejudices and these Partialities alive.

I have now done with my *Preface*, which may be thought too long. I wish it could be thought unnecessary.



WHETHER the Demolition of DUNKIRK does, in a great Measure, secure exactly † Seven-ninths of the Trade of *England* from the Power of *France* at Sea, as it has been asserted, I shall not trouble my self to calculate, neither shall I examine nicely how far this Port may justly be deemed our Rival in time of Peace, by supporting some considerable Branches of the *French* Manufactures, and by carrying on a Trade to the *West-Indies*, which has been insisted upon likewise. In general, it will not be denied, that the *French* have annoy'd our Trade, and promoted their own extreamly, by the convenient Situation and other Advantages of the Port of *Dunkirk*.

To make therefore a true Judgment in the present Case, it is sufficient to lay a Foundation, which few Men will attempt to controvert, and which no Man can controvert, without exposing himself to Ridicule, or to something worse than Ridicule, to the Abhorrence of every honest Heart.

The Foundation I mean to lay is contain'd in these Propositions.

First, The declared Sense of the *British* Nation, at the time of the making of the last Treaty of Peace with *France*, was, that *Dunkirk* should be no more either a fortified City, a fortified Port, or even an unfortified Harbour.

Secondly, *France* consented to the Demolition of *Dunkirk* in this Sense, and engaged never to restore it again in any one of these Respects.

These Propositions are fully proved by the Ninth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*: By which *Great Britain* required, and *France* consented, that “all the Fortifications of the City of DUNKIRK should be razed; those towards the Sea in two Months, those towards the Land in three Months.” Thus

† *Vide Sir Richard Steele's Writings about Dunkirk in the late Queen's Reign.*

far the Article stipulates the Demolition of *Dunkirk* as a fortified City, and as a fortified Port, and if no more had been intended, no more would have been said; but the Article says a great deal more; it says expressly, that "the Harbour shall be filled up, and that the Sluices or Moles, which serve to clean the Harbour shall be levelled." The naked Harbour it self was therefore to be destroy'd as well as the Fortifications towards the Land and towards the Sea. After all these Stipulations follows "this express Condition, that the said Fortifications, Harbours, Moles, or Sluices, be never repaired again." So that *France* has never had, since the Treaty of *Utrecht*, nor can have, while that Treaty subsists, any more Right to open, or by Reparation to help to open the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, than she has to rebuild the Fortifications of that City, and to render it in every Respect what it was before the Demolition.

The late Queen *Anne* was so sollicitous to have this principal Part of the Article (for such it was then esteem'd) effectually perform'd, that when she sent her Commissioners to *Dunkirk* to see the Demolition of that Place executed, she gave them the most particular Instructions imaginable on this Head. They were not only to see the Moles and Jettees, and Keys, and Sluices demolished, but they were to see the Stones belonging to them, even the "Stones of the Keys for shipping and unshipping Goods, thrown into the Canal or Harbour, the more effectually to spoil the same, and render it impracticable for the future. They were to see the Channel of each Sluice fill'd up with Earth from the next Rampart, till it was made level with the Streets." Nay, they were to see the Road, which lies before the Entrance of the Harbour, spoil'd as much as possible; and the Reason for this particular Instruction is there given, "to prevent as much as possible any Ships coming in for the future.

The late King of *France* had tried, by his Ministers at *Utrecht*, and even by a direct and strong Application from himself to the late Queen, while the Treaty was in Negotiation, to have the Rigour of the *Ninth Article* in some Degree softened. He did

did not desire that any thing, which had been erected to fortify the Town, or make and preserve the Harbour, should be spared, but hop'd and press'd, that the Queen would allow one Sluice to be left, which had been erected, as it was then pretended, by the People of the Country, before he fortified the Place, to carry off the Waters, and save the low Lands from Inundations. Even this Application prov'd fruitless. The Article was insisted upon, and was accordingly passed without any Exception.

Not discouraged by this, the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* sent over a Deputy, who was warmly supported by the Ambassador of *France*. Several fresh Instances were made, and all Endeavours were used to move the Queen's Compassion, by desiring as a Grace, what they pretended no Right to by Treaty, that the Sluice of *Furnes* at least might be preserved, to carry the Water off from the Country, and to preserve the Town from Filth, Stench, and the Consequence thereof, Infection.

But the Queen, who was resolved that *Dunkirk* should have neither a fortified Port, nor even a naked Harbour, knew by the Reports of her Commissioners, that Mr. *Armstrong*, one of their Number, absolutely denied the Necessity of preserving those Sluices, in order to discharge the Waters of the Country. She was informed likewise, by the Report of the same Commissioners, that "if any of the Sluices remained, it would be impossible to prevent the Harbour from being kept open; whereas, if they were all destroy'd, a small space of Time would effectually fill up the Harbour." She continued therefore inflexible, and besides several other Answers to the same Effect, given to the *French* Ambassador, and to the Deputy of *Dunkirk*, upon these Occasions, a Secretary of State was order'd upon one of them, to write to the *British* Minister at *Paris*, to acquaint that Court, "that the Queen will insist, that by the Treaty, all things are to be destroyed, *que eluendo Portui inserviunt*, which serve to cleanse the Harbour. That no Distinction is therein made of what contributes accidentally, and what directly to the Purpose.—That the *French* Ministers had insisted at *Utrecht*, to have such

" such an Exception inserted in the Treaty ; that it
 " was positively refused, and that they submitted—
 " That under a charitable Pretence of saving the
 " Country, the *French* would save the Harbour.
 " ——— In short, that he must let Mr. *de Torcy* feel,
 " and by him the *King*, that the *Queen* sees plainly
 " the Correspondence between his Officers and the
 " People of the Town, who are unwilling to lose
 " their Harbour.

I might descend into more Particulars ; but these
 are, I think, sufficient to establish the two Propositions
 advanced above. The Intention of the late
 Queen, and of those who negotiated by her Orders,
 the Treaty of *Utrecht*, was to destroy *Dunkirk* for
 ever, not only as a Fortress, but as a Sea-port. To
 this the *French* submitted, tho' with much Reluctan-
 cy ; and in this at least the Ministers at that time were
 seconded by the Voice of the whole Nation. Even
 those who opposed that Administration were ashamed
 of some weak Attempts made to depreciate this
 important Article of the *Utrecht* Treaty. They soon
 took the other Part. They sounded high the Conse-
 quence of it, and the Necessity of executing it with
 the utmost Rigour. They were so far from thinking
 the Demolition of the Fortifications to the Land and
 to the Sea sufficient, that the Mole and Harbour
 were called by them, and I think rightly, *The Terror*
of the British Nation. In a Word, they asserted
 boldly, that nothing less than the total Destruction
 of the Harbour, as well as the Demolition of the
 Fortifications, could answer the Expectations of the
British Nation.

Such was the Issue of the first Disputes about *Dun-*
kirk, a little before the Death of the late Queen.
 The *French* were obliged to proceed to a total De-
 struction of it, after having in vain employ'd a Mul-
 titude of Artifices, and a Multitude of Pretences, to
 avoid the strict and full Execution of the Treaty of
Utrecht in this Point.

They turn'd themselves therefore to another Me-
 thod, and began to cleanse and widen the Canal of
Mardyke. The Pretences of doing it were the
 same as had been urged in order to save the Port of
Dunkirk, under Colour of saving the Country from
 Inun-

Inundations. But the plain Design of this Work was to open a new Harbour at *Dunkirk*, and a new Communication with the Sea.

As the Work proceeded, this Design became every Day more evident, by the Breadth and Depth which were given to the Canal of *Mardyke*, and by the enormous Size of the new Sluice, larger than that at *Dunkirk*, and vastly beyond any Proportion that could be pretended necessary for carrying off the Waters, or even for receiving Fisher-Vessels, and other small Craft.

As the Design became more evident, the Representations against it became more frequent and strong. But the *French* drew the Affair into length, by the common Arts of Negotiation, and in the mean time pursued their Enterprize with all the Vigour and Dispatch imaginable; till the late King, resolving not to suffer so manifest a Violation of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, sent the Earl of *Stair* to the Court of *France*, soon after his Accession to the Crown.

This Minister proceeded on the Principle establish'd at first, and hitherto not once departed from. *The true Sense of the Treaty of UTRECHT*, says he, in one of his Memorials, *and the Intention of Great Britain is, that Dunkirk shall never have a Port again.* From whence he argues, that since the Port of *Mardyke* is in its Use a Port to the City of *Dunkirk*, as much as the old one was, the King of *Great Britain* would have liked as well to have had this subsist, and only the Name of it changed, as to see another Port, larger and more convenient, opened at a League to the Westward.

The Answers which the Court of *France* made to all these Reparations, were very far from giving Satisfaction; but the Firmness which the Earl of *Stair* shewed, and perhaps the declining State of *Lewis XIVth*, prevail'd on the *French* Counsels to stop the carrying on these Works; probably with the same Views as they have acted since, to quiet the present Clamour, and to begin again upon the first Occasion.

Such was the Issue of the second Disputes about *Dunkirk*, when the late King of *France* died. The

French

French never departed from their Pretensions, groundless as they were, nor ruined the Works they had made at *Mardyke*. They kept one alive, and only suspended the other.

The late King therefore, instead of dropping the Affair, continued to push it, and to shew that he was determined, at any Rate, to have another sort of Satisfaction than he had yet received.

This Satisfaction he obtained soon after, by a *Provisional Agreement* made with the Minister of *France* at *Hampton-Court*, in the Month of *September* 1716, and inserted in the *Triple Defensive Alliance* concluded at the *Hague* between *Great Britain*, *France*, and the *States General* in *January*, 1717.

The Duke of *Orleans* was now Regent of *France*. His political Interests led him to desire the Friendship of the late King. This Disposition was cultivated and improved on our Parts, and the Union between the two Courts grew to be extremely intimate. But as *Great Britain* and *France* acted in concert like *Friends*, so they acted together in those Days like *Equals*. If we used their Help, we lent them ours. The Dependence was at least mutual, and when our separate Interests came into Competition with theirs, far from fearing to assert our Right, lest we should disoblige our Friends, we treated with them like an *independent Nation*, who knew that it is, or may be always made the Interest of *France* to keep Measures with *Great Britain*, as much as it can become at any time the Interest of *Great Britain* to keep Measures with *France*.

This appeared very remarkably on the Occasion we were mentioning. The Regent was not, I suppose, more scrupulous than the late King of *France*, nor less desirous of regaining any Advantage which had been lost, or given up; and yet he was forced to yield to all that we insisted upon, for the effectual Execution of the *Ninth Article* of the *Treaty of Utrecht*.

His late Majesty did indeed at this time consent, that the Canal opened at *Mardyke*, should subsist, for carrying off the Waters, and for the little Commerce necessary to supply that Part of the Country with Provisions. This was a Concession which had not been made before, and which the *French* had not strictly

any Right to expect. But surely it was wise to make it in the Manner, and on the Conditions on which it was made.

As long as a King of *France* had the plausible Pretence of saving his Subjects from drowning, or starving, to cover his Designs, it was obvious enough, by all that had passed, that the Design of restoring *Dunkirk*, under this Pretence, would never be laid aside. The late King therefore, in order to defeat the Design once for all, resolv'd to take the Pretence entirely away.

By the Fourth Article of the *Triple Alliance*, the great new Sluice made at *Mardyke*, and all the Jettees erected along the Strand, are to be destroyed, and not to be made use of " for any Port, Haven or Sluice " at *Dunkirk* or at *Mardyke*, or at any other Place " within two Leagues Distance of either of these ; " the Intention of the contracting Parties, and the " End which they propose to themselves by this Treaty, being, That no Port, Harbour, Fortification, " Sluice, or Bason, shall be made or built at *Dunkirk*, " at the Sluice of *Mardyke*, or at any other Place " whatsoever upon the Coast, within the Distance " before mentioned.

By the same Article it was stipulated likewise, that the *Dignes* or *Jettees*, on both Sides of the old Canal or Port of *Dunkirk*, should be entirely demolished down to the Strand, and that some other things should be further done, which might be necessary to the more compleat Destruction of the Harbour.

This being consented to on the Part of *France*, his Majesty consented that the little Sluice on the Canal of *Mardyke* should remain, provided the Breadth of it was reduced to sixteen Foot.

All these Stipulations were made with the greatest Clearness possible ; and the most exact Specifications of every thing necessary to render them effectual, are contained in the Treaty.

Such was the Issue of the Disputes about *Dunkirk*, in the time of the late King ; and surely there was good Reason to hope, after the Settlement then made, that we should hear of them no more. The *French* were gratified in two Points, for which alone they contended at least avowedly ; and *Dunkirk* was reduced

duced to be no more a fortified Town, a fortified Port, or even an unfortified Harbour.

But to the great Detriment and Misfortune of our Nation, so it is, that we have greater Reason than ever to renew these Disputes. What the *French* were not suffered to attempt by *that Administration*, which *Sir Richard Steele* call'd the *French Administration*, they have been lately suffer'd to do. Instead of not executing *one Treaty* fully, they have publickly violated two. They actually enjoy the Benefit of the Canal of *Mardyke* which was indulged to them, that there might remain no Colour for ever opening that of *Dunkirk*; and in the midst of this Enjoyment, they have opened, they have repaired that of *Dunkirk*, and contrived their Work so, that whenever they think proper to finish it, *Dunkirk* will be at once a better Harbour than it was, when it stood the Glory of *France*, and the Terror of *Britain*.

I proceed to the particular Facts, which support these general Allegations.

Col. Lassells, one of the Commissaries appointed to see the Fourth Article of the Treaty of 1717 fully and effectually executed, continued at *Dunkirk* till the Year 1725, that memorable Æra, when the Treaty of *Hanover* was made, and from whence so many things, which will not be easily or soon forgot, are to be dated. How this Officer came to be recalled, just in that critical Point of Time, has not been explain'd. Perhaps we may begin to guess at the Reasons, when we have gone a little farther in the present Enquiry.

It is agreed on all Hands, that whilst he continued at *Dunkirk*, the old Port and Harbour remained impracticable, as by Treaty they are to remain; and that the little peddling Trade which the *French* had there, was carried on by very small Vessels, and thro' the Canal of *Mardyke* alone.

About two Years after he had been recall'd, Rumours began to spread, that the Port of *Dunkirk* was opened again. These Rumours were confirmed by several Persons who had pass'd that Way; and our Ministers, even without receiving any Intelligence from Abroad, could not be ignorant of the Truth of the Fact, since it appeared by the *Entries of the Custom-house*,

from-house, that Ships were continually going and coming from the Port of *Dunkirk*.

As the Works for repairing this Port advanced, the Trade of the Place, and the Noise about it increased. Nay, these Works were carried forward in so publick a Manner at last, that it became impossible any longer to forbear concluding, either that our Ministers had not been able to prevail on those of *France*, to stop this Violation of the Treaty, or else that they connived at it.

In this State of things, and under such Apprehensions as these, some Members of the *House of Commons* resolved to lay this Matter before the *Committee of the whole House*, appointed to take into Consideration the *State of the Nation*. The Importance of it did, in their Opinions, deserve the most solemn Proceedings, and the Nature of it required, that no more Time should be lost in stopping the Growth of an Evil, which became, by every Day's Delay, greater and harder to cure. They got therefore such Evidence of particular Facts, as they judg'd sufficient; and they concealed their Enquiries with all the Care they could, lest the Witnesses might be prevented, by Power, or Artifice, from appearing; or when they did appear, from speaking as plainly and fully in *public*, as they had done in *private*. This Precaution, which is, or ought always to be taken in Cases of this Kind, was surely as necessary as ever, on the Occasion we speak of; and the Complaints, which have been made of it, are indeed below Animadversion.

When, in Consequence of these Measures, it was moved in the *Committee of the whole House*, that some Persons, attending at the Door, should be called in, to give an Account of the Condition of the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk* * * * * attempted at first to hinder this Motion from passing; But the Sense and Inclination of the *Committee* running strongly against him, this Attempt failed of Success.

The *Witnesses* were called in; and they gave clear distinct Accounts to the following Effect.

That the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, which had been demolished in pursuance of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, so that the smallest Fishing-Boat could not

go in to them a few Years ago, are now made capable of receiving great Numbers of Ships of considerable Burthen—— That from *sixty* to *eighty Vessels* are frequently to be seen there at a time; and that the Port is capable of containing more than One Hundred and Fifty—— That, in order to make it so, the Sluice of *Furnes* has been re-established, and the Piles of the *Damme*, raised at the time of the Demolition a-cross the Entrance of the Harbour, have been pulled up—— That several Works, in which the Soldiers as well as other Persons were employ'd, have been carried on from time to time, for cleansing the Harbour; for hindering the Mud and Sand from coming in to it; for repairing the *Jettees*; for preventing the Tides from flowing a-cross the Channel, and thereby keeping it choaked up; for making *Keys* where Goods are loaded and unloaded as commodiously as before the Demolition, and for procuring to this Port many other Conveniencies of Trade and Navigation—— That an *English-built Ship*, which trades from *Dunkirk* to *St. Domingo*, was actually in the Harbour lying at the *Keys*, besides several *Dutch* and other Ships, which trade to the *West-Indies*—— That Ships of Force had been built and launch'd there lately, and one particularly in *January* last, which sailed out of the Harbour with *Twenty-four Guns mounted*, and is able to carry *Thirty-six*—— In a Word, that some of the many Works which have been made for restoring the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, are already put into as good a Condition as ever; that the Trade of the Town is by these Means very much encreased within these two Years; and that the Pilots, who lie upon the Coast, refuse to carry Vessels any longer into the Canal of *Mardyke*, having Orders not to do it.—— That the Canal of *Mardyke* is brought so near to the great Sluice, that by removing a small Quantity of Earth more, the whole Body of Water, which is at present carried into that Canal from those of *Berg* and the *Moere*, may be carried into the old Basen, and into that Part of the Harbour, where the Men of War formerly lay—— upon the whole Matter, that the Port of *Dunkirk* may now very soon, and at no great further Expence, be render'd as good, and, perhaps, better

better than it was before the Destruction of it, in all respects, except as to the Fortifications——The *Witnesses* added that these Works, which had been carried on, at first, with some kind of Privacy, were afterwards continued without Disguise, and since last *August* with more Vigour than before; nay, that they were actually carrying on, notwithstanding the Badness of the Season, in *January* and *February* last.

The *Witnesses*, who proved these Facts, were *Masters of Vessels* and *others*, who make frequent Voyages to *Dunkirk*, and who spoke to nothing but what they had had frequent Occasions of observing; so that their Evidence was, upon a very *strict*, to use no harsher a Word, *Cross-Examination*, confirm'd in every Part, and supported in the strongest Manner.

As clear as it was, and as unquestionable as the Truth of it appeared to be, Reasons were urged why no *Resolutions* should be, at that time, taken upon it. The Chief of these Reasons were, that Colonel *Armstrong* had been lately sent to *France*; that his Presence would be necessary in a further Examination of this Matter; and that a Time ought therefore to be allow'd, in which he might be able to return; that several Papers would likewise be call'd for, to shew what had been lately transacted, and what Care the *Ministers* had taken about this Affair; and that the getting these Papers ready for the House would require Time also. These Reasons were acquiesced in, tho' it was not hard to foresee what might be effected by *Delay*.

The *Committee* was adjourn'd; Papers were call'd for; the *Committee* was again put off on the same Pretences for a Fortnight; several Papers were brought; and, the Day before it was to sit again, there were communicated to the House, by his Majesty's Command, Copies of a * *Letter from the D. of N. to Mr. Pointz*; of an Answer from Mr. † *Pointz*;

* The Duke's Letter to *Pointz* and *Armstrong* was dated *February* the 12th, 1729-30.

† *Pointz* and *Armstrong's* Letter to the Duke was from *Paris* 16-27 *February*, 1729-30.

and of the following *Order* obtain'd from the *Court* of *France*.

By the King.

“ **T**HE *Sieur*—— *Capt.* of his Majesty's Ships, is
 “ order'd to repair immediately to the Port of
 “ *Dunkirk*, there to draw up an exact State of the
 “ present Condition of the Canal and Port of the
 “ said Town, and to make his Report thereof. His
 “ Majesty enjoyns the said *Sieur* to cause to be de-
 “ molished all the Works that may have been erected
 “ in Contravention to the Treaty of *Utrecht* and
 “ of the *Hague*, Copy whereof he will find hereunto
 “ annexed. His Majesty commands and orders the
 “ Governour Commandant of the Place, the Inten-
 “ dants, Engineers, and all other his Officers and
 “ Subjects, to give all the necessary Assistance in
 “ Execution of the present Order, in Case of Need.
 “ Done at *Versailles* the 27th of *February* 1730.
 “ Sign'd *Lewis*, and underneath *Phelypeaux*.

Our *Ministers* seem'd to applaud themselves very much on the Success of their last Application to the *French Court*; and it was talk'd of, in a triumphant Stile, as if there remain'd no Pretence for proceeding to any farther Examination of the present State of *Dunkirk*. But surely this was unreasonable on all Accounts; since if there was any Merit in obtaining this *Piece of Paper* from *France*, the Merit belong'd to those worthy *Gentlemen*, who brought this Affair before the *House of Commons*, and in no sort to the *Ministers*. Besides which, even upon Supposition that *France* had now given us full Satisfaction, and full Security that *Dunkirk* should be once more demolished, according to the Terms of the *Treaties* of *Utrecht* and the *Hague*, it was still proper and necessary too that the *Committee* should proceed; because it was proper and necessary to discover how it had come to pass that the Harbour of *Dunkirk* had been, for so long a Time, repairing without any effectual Opposition on our Parts. No honest Man, who is acquainted with the Constitution of Parliament, and who knows what the Proceedings of the *House of Commons* have been in the
 best

best Times, will contradict me in this. Permit me to add, that the Facility and Expedition, with which the *French* consented, upon this Occasion, to their *last Order*, administer'd more than ordinary Cause to suspect *that they had never been pressed much upon this Head before.*

When the House came again into the *Committee of the State of the Nation*, they had before them, besides the *two Letters* of our Ministers and the Answer just procured from *France*, several of the Papers, which had been call'd for, and the Evidence of some fresh *Witnesses* produced by those Gentlemen, who had produced the former.

I say *several of the Papers which had been call'd for*; because, altho' the Papers call'd for by * * * * were all brought in; yet of those which had been call'd for by *others*, some were kept back, under a Pretence that they could not be found in the Offices; and *others* it was said, would require a great deal of Time to copy.

The Papers call'd for by * * * * and deliver'd in, were generally *Extracts of Letters*; so that if one were to suppose an Intention to *conceal* any Circumstances from the Knowledge of the *House*, this Method would give a sufficient Opportunity of doing it; notwithstanding which, these very Papers, imperfect as they were, confirm'd and strengthened all the Evidence given at the Bar.

In order to be more clear, and to state the whole Matter as fairly as I am able, I shall take Notice, in the first Place, of such Particulars as appeared in the Papers, or were proved by fresh *Witnesses*, in Addition to and Corroboration of what had appeared in the preceding Examination; for nothing contrary to it appeared any where. In the next Place, I shall give an Account of the Conduct of our Ministers thro' all these Transactions; for the Exactness of which I shall appeal to their own Papers, as I shall appeal to the common Sense of Mankind for the Justness of the Observations which I propose to make as I go along.

It appeared then by *these Papers*, that in *March 1727-8*, according to our *Stile*, the *old Harbour of Dunkirk* was so well repaired, that the Canal of
Mardyke

Mardyke was no longer made use of; that the Inhabitants work'd at these Reparations by *Moon-light*; that the Trade of *Dunkirk* had been carried on there as formerly for *eight Months*; and that a Frigate of 40 Guns was fitted in that Harbour, which is said to be in as good a Condition as formerly, except as to the Condition of the Fortifications. Other Advices, very little posterior to these, speak of a *Sluice* built in 1727, on the *Canal of Furnes*; of a new *Sluice* preparing for the *Canal of Berg*; of *Engineers* who direct, and the King of *France's* Troops who carry on these Works.

As this Account from the Papers agrees with the Accounts given by the *first Witnesses*; so the Evidence of the *second Witnesses* agrees perfectly with both; for they said that the *Sluices* of *Furnes* had been opened about *August* 1727; that is, about *eight Months* before the Month of *March*, 1727-8, Old Stile; that about *October*, 1727, the Piles, which barred the Harbour, had been drawn, and that there was Water enough in it for a Ship of 400 Tons. They confirmed, that Numbers of Men, mostly *Soldiers*, were employ'd on these Works.

Mr. *Amstrong* was sent in 1728, with Mr. *Cronstroom* to *DUNKIRK*, and his Report is dated from thence in *September*. This Report is in nothing repugnant to the other Accounts. On the contrary, it enters minutely enough into the Particulars of Works then made to restore the Harbour, and of the Consequences of these Works, which the Report agrees to be contrary to the express Terms of the Treaty.

There are, among the Papers, other Advices of the Month of *May*, 1729, concerning new Works carried on at *DUNKIRK*, and Accounts of what was done upon these Advices; but the Papers are, from *May* and *July* 1729, entirely silent as to this whole Affair; and yet it appear'd plainly, by the Evidence at the Bar, which was not contradicted, that from *July*, to the time of bringing this Enquiry into the House of Commons, the French continued to repair and mend the Port of *DUNKIRK* with more Application than ever. It is therefore no Wonder if the *Witnesses* spoke to some more Particulars than are to be found in the Papers.

H

Thus

Thus have I related the Substance of what appeared concerning the *present State* of Dunkirk, as well as concerning the Works carried on by the *French* at that Place, since Mr. *Lassells* was recalled from thence. Some Circumstances, which I may have omitted, to avoid Prolixity and Confusion, will occur more properly in the *Second Part*; where I propose to give an Account of the Conduct of our *Ministers*, through all these Transactions, out of their *own Papers*.

First, it appears, by their *own Papers*, that the very first Notice, which they took of what the *French* were doing at *Dunkirk*, proceeded from a Representation made by the Pensionary of *Holland*, on Advices he had received from *France*, and which were dated the 26th of *March*, 1728 N. S. Now the *French* had been, at this Time, many Months working at the Harbour of *Dunkirk*, and the Trade of that Place had been, during this Time, carried on as formerly. Did our *Ministers* know of this, and do nothing against it till the *Ministers* of the *States* called, in a Manner upon them? This would be Connivance in the highest Degree. Did they not know it sooner? They took then no Care to be informed of what passed at *Dunkirk*, for two Years together, after they had recalled Mr. *Lassells*, whose Presence had been a Check upon the *French*. This would be Neglect in the highest Degree. The *Dutch Minister* at *Paris* sent his Advice to the Pensionary. How came our Minister, at the same Court, not to have as good Intelligence, or having it, not to send it hither?

But there is another Consideration still behind; for if publick Reports did not deserve their Attention; yet they could not be ignorant that the *Port* of *Dunkirk* was opened, because they must know, at least *one* of them must know, and from him the rest might have known, by the Entries at our * Custom-house, that Ships went daily to it and came daily from it. Neglect

* N. B. The Entries of *Brandies* from thence were increas'd from 600 Tons, in the Year 1727, to above 1600 in the Year 1729; and the Entries of *Cambricks*, from 18,500 half Pieces to above 31,000 half Pieces; and 160 Sail of Ships, from 30 to 60 Tons, were enter'd at the Custom-house from this Port in the three Years from 1727 to 1729.

might keep them ignorant of the particular Works, by Means whereof this Harbour had been restored: But even Neglect could not hinder them from knowing that it was, in some Degree restored; and that, by virtue of two solemn Treaties, over which it was their Duty to watch, *DUNKIRK* was never to be in any Degree, an Harbour again.

Secondly, as the latter Part of the foregoing Observation bears particularly on the Elder, so I apprehend that the Observation I am about to make will be found to bear as hard on the Younger of that *Pair of Brothers*, who have had so long the Direction of the Affairs of this Kingdom; for the Advices, which the Pensionary had communicated to our Court, were sent to the *British* Minister at *Paris* by the S—— of St——e, on the 4th of *April* 1728, with Orders that he should inform himself about them, and make the proper Representations to the Cardinal, if he found them true; tho' it was not possible for us to have any Doubt of the Truth of those Facts; concerning which, they might have had certain Information from so many Hands, if their Attention had not been wholly employ'd in the necessary Establishment of *Don Carlos*.

W——'s Answer is dated the 29th of *April* N. S. and it is a curious one indeed. He sends over an Information which agrees, in the main, with the Advices received from the Pensionary; but adds, that the Inhabitants of *DUNKIRK*, had seen, " some time ago, with equal Surprize and Pleasure, that in one Night their Port was opened at once, by the Force of an extraordinary Tide, which they look'd upon as a kind of *MIRACLE*." In this *French* Miracle his Excellency seems to believe; and therefore most cautiously proposes to the Secretary of State, that a Person may be sent to *DUNKIRK* to see whether what has been done there be any thing more than the pure Consequence of the Tides, before He speaks to the Cardinal in Pursuance of the Orders sent by the D. of N. to him.

On the 30th of *April*, the Secretary writes to the Ambassador again, and sends him an Account, " which his Majesty has received, says the Letter, of the Works which have been carrying on at *Dunkirk*

“ for the Establishment of the Port and Harbour there,
 “ from a Person of undoubted Credit and Skill in
 “ those Affairs.” The Advices of the *Pensionary* are
 owned to be true; and every Step which has been
 taken at *Dunkirk*, is declared to be a *direct Breach of*
the Treaty of Utrecht, and of the Triple Alliance.
W— is directed therefore to insist with the Cardinal,
 that immediate Orders be sent to stop these Works,
 and a Confidence is express’d, that the Cardinal
 will take effectual Care that every thing be rectified
 according to the Treaties above-mention’d. All this
 is enforc’d by some Reasonings, which would incline
 one to imagine, that our Ministers at Home might
 think it necessary, at that Time, to insist upon the
 Observation of the Treaties.

But our Minister abroad did not appear much
 convinced of any such Necessity; for his *Excellency’s*
 Answer to this Dispatch is more extraordinary than
 the last, and even than the *miraculous Tide*, which,
 it is pretended, opened the Harbour of *Dunkirk*. He
 writes on the 30th of *May*, that is, a Month after-
 wards, to the D. of N. sends him some *Papers*,
 received from the Cardinal, relating to our Complaints
 about *Dunkirk*; takes no Notice of any Representa-
 tions made by him, in Obedience to the Orders sent
 him; but says very coolly and very tenderly, that *He*
is no Competent Judge of this Affair, and can say
nothing to it.

His *Excellency’s* Temper would almost make any
 honest Man lose his Temper; but let us examine these
 Passages with all the Indifference possible.

W—’s Information, which he sent the D. of N.
 agreed with that of the *Pensionary*, which the D. of N.
 had sent him. He knew then, by repeated Advices,
 that it was not the *Tides*, but the incessant Labour
 of the *French*, which had opened the Port, and restored
 the Trade of *Dunkirk*, with all the Circumstances
 already mention’d. He knew, or he might have
 known, that this *miraculous Tide* had happen’d eight
 Years before, long before Mr. *Lassels* was recall’d
 from *Dunkirk*, and neither had been; nor could be
 of it self effectual to the opening of that Port. This
 being the Case (and it is so most exactly) on what
 Principle shall we account for *W—’s* Doubts,
 Delays,

Delays, and the Weight he seems to lay on that impertinent Story of the *Tide*?

But this is not the worst. He holds much the same Conduct, after he has receiv'd a *third Information*, confirming the *two former*, coming from a Person of *undoubted Credit and Skill*, believed by the King, and made the Foundation of *positive Orders* to him to insist on having an immediate Stop given to these Works. *He was no Judge in this Affair*. His Orders were not *conditional* in this Case, as in the *former*. Nothing but the *greatest Certainty*, that the *Advices* which the King had received, were *untrue*, and that his Majesty had been *deceived* in them, could justify him for *delaying* one Moment the Execution of his Orders. Now, instead of this *Certainty*, what had he? why he had a Paper, drawn up by the *Intendant of the Marine at Dunkirk*; for which, by the way, he had stay'd about a *Month*; and it happens very unluckily that this Paper, as inconsistent, as shuffling, as evasive, and as impertinent as it is, owns not only the Truth of some Particulars, contain'd in the *Advices*, which were the Grounds of Complaint, but acknowledges expressly that some Works had been made to *prevent the Sands from choaking up the Harbour*. Need I go about to prove that, in Consequence of the *Treaties*, the Harbour is to remain *choaked up for ever*; and that every thing done to prevent that, is an *Infraction* of these *Treaties*?

I proceed, in the third Place, to take Notice of Mr. *Armstrong's Report*. This *Report* is dated at *Dunkirk* the 23d of *September 1728*, near four Months after the *Transactions* last mentioned, and confirms sufficiently the Truth of the *Advices* received.—— It takes notice of an *Extraordinary Tide*, which had demolished, in the Month of *December, 1720*, the great *Batardeau* or *Digue*; but it observes, that the breaking of this *Digue* was far from opening the Harbour, since the Sand and Earth of it, being spread by the *Flux and Reflux*, had fill'd the Port, Basin, and Channel, so that a *Boat* could not get in from the Seaward.——It attributes very justly the *opening the Harbour* to the rebuilding the Sluice of *Furnes*, and augmenting it with a *second Flood-Gate*—— It then proceeds to particularize the several other Works which

which had been made, and asserts that *they are all contrary to the express Terms of the Ninth Article of the Treaty of Utrecht, and also to the Fourth Article of the Treaty of Alliance made at the Hague the 4th of Jan. 1717.* — It afterwards proposed different Methods for restoring things to the State they were in, before the *French* had opened and repaired the Harbour — Thus far all is well; but then *these Engineers* (for *Cronstroom* joins in the Report with *Armstrong*) turn Politicians; and having offered what they judged necessary for an effectual Compliance with the Treaties, they take on them to offer what they judge may be expedient, and not repugnant to the Intention of the Treaties; and that is, that the little *Rigolle* or *Gut*, (so they pleased to call it, and such it might be then, in Comparison of what it is now) should be left to the *French*; and in order to preserve it to them, that the Sluice, which they had built on the *Canal of Furnes*, in Violation of their Treaties, should be left to them likewise.

This must appear a very odd Opinion; especially when it comes from Mr. *Armstrong*, who was so positive in the late Queen's Time, that the Sluices at DUNKIRK were not necessary to be preserv'd, in order to discharge the Waters of the Country; and if any of these Sluices remained, it would be impossible to prevent the Harbour from being kept open; whereas, if they were all destroyed, a small Space of Time would effectually fill up the Harbour. But since that Time, he seems to have been enlightened by *Riconart*, the *Intendant of the Marine at Dunkirk*; who in the Paper above-mentioned, to which this Report refers, had undertaken to do, in three Months time, in War or Peace, at the Expence of ten thousand Livres, and with one hundred Workmen, more than he owned had been done at DUNKIRK in four Years.

It was right, perhaps, in *Riconart* to advance this extravagant Proposition; because it was his Business to furnish the Cardinal with Arguments to oppose to our Complaints; but surely it was not our Business to build, on this Foundation, such Maxims, as are established in Mr. *Armstrong's* Report, and as have had too much Prevalency since.

France,

France, it is argued, may, in Case of a Rupture with us, rebuild Sluices, and open, thereby, the Harbour of DUNKIRK and the Channel, as deep and as wide as formerly. But this Harbour will be of no Advantage to them, till the Fortifications to the Sea are rebuilt; because all Ships of War or Burthen were ever obliged, when this Place was in the best Condition, to go out into the Road, where they may be attacked, as long as the Strand remains unfortified, and there take in their Guns, Provisions, &c. Therefore let us permit them to open their Harbour now; that is, because *France* will, probably, in Case of a War, restore and fortify the Port of DUNKIRK again, let us allow them to do part of their Work before-hand: Because they will not observe the Treaties, when they are no longer bound by them, let us connive at their breaking the Treaties, whilst they are bound by them.

But I must not dismiss this Point ludicrously.

Mr. *Armstrong's* Reasoning, which was very bad, when he first made Use of it, and which is grown much worse by what has happened since (tho' there are Men, who still insist upon it) is entirely built on supposing what is in Dispute, or rather what is fully disproved.

For first, it is taken for granted that, in Case of a Rupture, the *French* will be able in a short time to restore this Harbour, notwithstanding all that has been done, or can be done to destroy it. Now this is absolutely denied by several very knowing Men; and was so in a particular Manner by *one*, whose Knowledge can be no more disputed, than his Valour, or his Integrity; and who said in the *House*, that he would undertake the *Digue* or *Damme* might be so made, as not to be destroyed, in two Years time, with all the Expence *France* could bestow upon it.

But besides, how could it escape Mr. *Armstrong*, when he took his Hint from the *French* Intendant, or those who have been Mr. *Armstrong's* Eccho's, that their own Reasoning turns, in this Case, against them. Let it be allowed them, for Argument's sake, that no Ship can take its Departure from DUNKIRK without stopping some time in the Road;

Road ; let it be allowed that we can attack and destroy them there, as long as the Strand is not fortified ; nay, let it be allowed that, in Case of a War, we should be able from the Road, to hinder the *French* from fortifying the Strand. From all which they conclude, that a naked Harbour cannot be of much Advantage to *France*, at the same time that they assert that it is not worth while to hinder that from being done now, which *France* can, and certainly will do in a few Months, whenever a War shall happen !

But surely it is very plain, upon this Foundation, and in Contradiction to what is asserted, that nothing can be more worth our while, than to hinder the *French* from restoring this Port and Harbour in time of Peace ; since they cannot possibly restore it in time of War. The same Force, which it has been allowed would destroy their Ships in the Road, and even hinder them from fortifying the Strand again, would equally hinder them from restoring their Channel to the Sea, by making Jettees down to the Low-Water Mark, to prevent the Flux and Reflux of the Tides, which set a-cross the Channel ; from choaking it up with Mud and Sand as fast as the Sluices by their Effect can clear it. Now it is undeniable, that if we can, in time of War, command the Road, and even hinder the Strand from being fortified ; we can, likewise, by the same Means, hinder the Jettees from being carried to Low-water Mark. From whence it follows, on the Reasoning of these Gentlemen, that if we do not suffer the *French* to do this Work, by Stratagems in time of Peace, they never can do it by Force in time of War ; and by Consequence, if ever it is done, it must be owing to the Folly, Neglect, or Treachery of the Ministers of *Great Britain*.

Secondly, it is asserted to be publickly known that all Ships, whether of War or Burthen, were ever obliged, when the Haven was at its best, to go out into the Road, and there take in their Guns, &c. Now it is publickly known, that all Ships of War or Burthen were not formerly, and are not, even now, under any such Necessity. There is at present Water enough in the Harbour for a Ship of 400 Tons, and the *Witnesses* had seen a Ship sail out of it with 24 Guns

Guns mounted. The largest Men of War, which were kept formerly on that Station, might be obliged to go light into the Road, and there take in their Guns, &c. but it is evident that Ships of Force sufficient to annoy the Trade of *Great Britain*, and to carry on that of *France*, did formerly, and may now sail out and in, without being obliged to stop in the Road.

Thirdly, the opening this Port, in the Manner it has been done, and the erecting a Sluice on the Canal of *Furnes*, tho' allow'd to be contrary to the express Terms, is supposed not to be repugnant to the Intention of the Treaties, and to the Ends proposed by them. Now surely the direct contrary is demonstratively plain; so plain, by the Terms of the Treaty; by the Principles over and over laid down; by the Arguments over and over employed in the Disputes and Negotiations about this Affair; and finally by Mr. *Armstrong's* own Opinion formerly delivered, and followed, that it is inconceivable he should report in Contradiction to all this; unless a Report was to be made, on this Occasion, in Consequence of a Measure resolved, instead of determining the Measure, in Consequence of the Report; which I apprehend has been the Case, on many Occasions.

When the *French* made the Canal of *Mardyke*, they cover'd themselves under the Letter of the Treaty; and because they did not rebuild the same individual Moles, Jettees or Fortifications, as had been demolished, they would have had it understood, that they did not act against the Words of the Ninth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*; which are, *ne dicta Munimenta, Moles, aut Aggeres denuo unquam reficiantur*. Now when they have rebuilt one of the same Sluices; are repairing the very same Jettees; and are, in a Word, restoring the same individual Port, Harbour, Basin and Channel; we argue, in their Favour, that they do not act against the Spirit or Intention of the Treaties, provided they do not renew the Fortifications on the Strand. Mr. *Armstrong*, in this Report, does not indeed allow the repairing the Jettees; on the contrary, he insists strongly on the Necessity of destroying them, even to the Level
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of the Strand; but we shall see that he does little less than allow it in a subsequent Report; and the same Argument, drawn from the supposed Intention of the Treaties, has been equally insisted upon, since the Jettees have been in part repaired, and other Works done, which answer the same Ends.

But to conclude this Observation; if there could have been, before the Treaty of 1717, any Doubt concerning the Intention of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, as there certainly could not; and as his late Majesty insisted very justly, and very successfully, that there could not; yet to urge this, after the Treaty of 1717, is to chicaner about the Spirit of Treaties, in favour of the *French*, more grossly than they did themselves in their own Favour, when they accepted of the Will of the late King of *Spain*, notwithstanding all the Engagements they had taken by the Treaty of *Partition*. The 4th Article of the Treaty of 1717, is a Commentary on the 9th Article of that of *Utrecht*. If, after that, we are still at Liberty to talk of the Spirit or Intention of the first Treaty, nothing can be ever determined by any Treaty. The Treaty of 1717 leaves the Canal of *Mardyke* in such a State as might suffice for carrying off the Waters, and admitting of small Vessels, that there might be no Excuse left for opening, in any Degree, the old Channel, which by the same Treaty is to be more effectually demolished than ever, in order to the intricate choaking of it up; How can it be said, after this, that the *Intent* and *End* of this Treaty, as well as of the former, is not disappointed by opening this same old Channel and the Harbour anew? I grow ashamed of insisting so long on a Point so very clear, and shall finish it by saying, That nothing could surprize or afflict me more, than to hear *some Persons*, from whom better things might have been expected, argue for keeping open the Harbour of *DUNKIRK* upon any Principles, and especially on such as these; that it is not against the Treaties, nor against the Interest of *Great Britain*. To excuse Ministers who have committed Faults may be allowed to Friendship, and to particular Obligations; but there can hardly be a more melancholly Symptom in a free Government, than that of excusing, and even justifying the Conduct of

of Ministers, by explaining away the most important national Advantages.

Having made these Observations on Mr. *Armstrong's* Report, I proceed, in the first Place, to take notice of what our Ministers did, in Consequence of it.

What they did was in short this. They follow'd his Advice, as far as it went in Favour of *France*; and there do not appear any Footsteps that they follow'd it in taking effectual Care of those few Things, which he recommends in Favour of *Great Britain*.

They approved his Report in all its Parts. They directed the Minister at *Paris* to insist, that things might be rectified according to it; and the Secretary of State writes, that this will give entire Satisfaction. Nay they would not so much as try whether *France*, would be contented with less than Mr. *Armstrong* proposed; for *W——* having given the Hint, by asking whether he should communicate the whole Report to the *French*, or only such Parts of it as related to the Infractions of the Treaties, he is ordered to communicate the whole Report to the Cardinal: That is, he is ordered to shew the *French* at once, that we were willing to give up to them what had never been given up, from the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to this time; and leave them a Harbour, under the sham Pretences under which they had so long pressed for it in vain.

What is the Return made to this noble Frankness and Generosity of ours? why, the Cardinal, says he, has put the Report into the Hands of the Secretary for Maritime Affairs; and that, in order to hinder an *Eclat*, Direction will be given for complying with it by Degrees.

Who does not see the Meaning of this Answer? The *Eclat*, that is, the Noise, was already made in *Great Britain*, and in *Holland* too. It was publickly known in both, and publickly complain'd of, that the *French* had, in great Measure, restored the Port and Harbour of *DUNKIRK*. Surely there could have been no Hurt in letting it be as publickly known, that they were destroying, at least, a Part of what they had done in Violation of the Treaties. This must have helped to hinder, instead of making any farther *Eclat*. This must have done Honour to that

Court, and have given some Colour, if any thing can give Colour to so improbable a Story, to what has been so often said, and is said, even now, that the *French* Ministers know nothing of the Works carried on by the Inhabitants of DUNKIRK.

But the meaning of this Answer was plainly to gain time. We had shewn too much Haste in giving up, at once, a great Part of what they wanted to gain upon us; and they were willing to try if they could, by Delay, evade performing the small Part of what we required of them.

I pass to my *Fifth* Observation, which will prove that this is no unreasonable Refinement, or rash Judgment. What I have just related passed in Nov. 1728. From that time it does not appear that the *French* demolish'd, according to Mr. *Armstrong's* Report, any of the Works they had made, or that our Ministers press'd them once to it. But tho' they did not demolish, it appears that they built; for in the Month of *May* following, a new Alarm comes, and our Ministers are once more called upon by the Pensionary, who sends them Accounts of further Works carrying on at DUNKIRK, for the Improvement of the Harbour. These Accounts were such, that my Lord C——d says, in his Letter, the Pensionary gave great Attention to them. Let us see what Attention we give to them.

They are sent to the M——r at *Paris*. He communicates them to the Cardinal. The Cardinal knows nothing of the Matter; but gives general Assurances that nothing contrary to the Treaties shall be done. Our Complaints are transmitted from Court to DUNKIRK, and from thence an Answer is returned by the *Intendant*, acknowledging in the main the Facts complained of, but giving Turns to them, which one would hardly imagine could pass, even with those who have so much Faith in their Miracles. Such, for Instance, as this; that a certain Floodgate had indeed been repaired, but that it was one, which had not been demolished at the Demolition of DUNKIRK; which is true for this Reason, that it was not in *being* at the time of that Demolition, but hath been built since; so that the *French* Argument stands thus. We do not break the Treaties
by

by repairing this Work, but we broke them by building it.

This Answer was referred to Mr. *Armstrong*, who (without any Examination, whether the *French Intendant* had not palliated and disguised Matters) makes as implicit and favourable a Report, as the other could have desired.

A few Months ago, it was, in his own Opinion, necessary to destroy the *Jettees* newly erected, and the Heads of the old ones, which had been left, and that even down to the Level of the Strand. Now, the Piles driven at the Head of the old Channel, and pretended to be design'd only for Beacons and Moorings, may be allowed, provided Care be taken that they do not serve for the Foundations of Batteries. The new Magazines and the new Key are not thought of any Inconveniency. All that *France* is doing, and which the *Pensionary* laid so much Weight upon, is allowed. The Minister at *Paris* hath Orders to say so; but he is to hint at the same time, that Care be taken no farther Works are carried on. He may *speak out* in making these Concessions to *France*; but he must measure his Words, and not speak plain, when he mentions what we required in Return; tho' what we required, in Return, was nothing more than a verbal Assurance that Batteries should not be made in the Heads of the *Jettees*, which we allowed them to erect at the Entrance of the old Channel.

My *Sixth* Observation is this. Tho' we were now brought Step by Step to see and own a manifest Danger, that the *French* might not only repair, but fortify the Port of *Dunkirk*, yet from the Month of *July* last, the Works were carried forward there till the Enquiry began in Parliament, without the Knowledge, or with the Connivance of our most knowing Ministers!

It appeared by the concurring Evidence of the Witnesses, that they were carried forward, during this time, with greater Application, and less Reserve than ever; that the Soldiers of the King's Troops work'd at them; and that Ships were press'd by the King's Order, to carry Stones for this Service.

After this, it is impossible to read, without some Surprise, that when Mr. *Pointz* and Mr. *Armstrong* made

made the Representations, which they were ordered to make to the *French* Ministers, both the Cardinal and the Keeper of the Seals assur'd them, that if any thing had been done towards restoring the Harbour of *Dunkirk* to its former State, or in Contravention to the Treaties of *Utrecht* and the *Hague*, it had been done *without their Knowledge*, and *contrary to the French King's express Commands*. They seem, by this Protestation, as ignorant as our Ministers were, of things done in their own Country, and with all the *Eclat* possible; but even Ignorance, in this Case, is not very excusable in either; for

First, as to the *French* Ministers. Taking what they say in their own Behalf, for granted, that the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* have been principally active in what hath been lately done there, contrary to *Treaties*; yet can it be suppos'd with the least Appearance of Probability, that Works of such Importance could be carried on for above two Years together, without any Authority or Connivance, or even the Knowledge of the *French* Court? — Is it, in any Degree credible, that the Subjects of an arbitrary Prince, would dare to make Use of his Troops, or to press Ships into that Service, by pretended Orders, and without any real Licence? — Can we imagine that this could be done under the very Nose, and yet without the Privy of the Governour Commandant, the Intendants, and divers other Officers of the Marine, who are obliged to hold a constant Correspondence with the Ministers at *Paris*? — or, lastly, can it be pretended, without putting the greatest Violation on common Sense and common Reason, that even Curiosity itself, the lowest Principle of all our Enquiries, would not have prevail'd on the Ministers of *France* to examine into this Affair, and gain the best Informations about it, after it had made so great an *Eclat* in *England* and *Holland*?

I am at a Loss to find, in this Conduct, any Proof that *They carry their Fidelity even to a Nicety*; for it was certainly incumbent on them to be so inform'd; since it was from the *French* Court, and not from the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk*, that we were to expect and require the strict Observance of the *Treaties*. When the *French* Ministers therefore would

would impose on us an Assurance of this kind, so void of all Probability, and at the same time give us another Assurance of their doing every thing agreeably to Treaties; will not the notorious Improbability of the one justify our strongest Suspicions about the Performance of the other? When there are such convincing Reasons to question their *Veracity*, can we, without exposing our selves to the Contempt of the whole World, depend entirely on their *Sincerity*?

Secondly, as to the inactive Conduct of our Ministers, from *July* to *February* last; and in order to set this Matter in a full Light, let us recal very shortly, and place their whole Proceedings in one View.

If we look no farther back than the Year 1727, when the new Sluice on the Canal of *Furnes* was built, it is now about three Years since the *French* have work'd at the Restoration of *Dunkirk*. In this time our Ministers have made three Complaints, and not one of these Complaints hath been made originally on their own Motion, and upon Advice of their own. The two first times, they were call'd on by the *Pensionary*, and the last time, they were push'd on by the Parliament. The Proceedings on the first Complaint ended, by allowing to the *French* some Infractions of the Treaties, and by desiring that others might be rectified. This is promis'd, but the Promise is not kept. Instead of rectifying what had been done, new Works are carried on. The Proceedings on the second Complaint end in our acquiescing to these new Works, provided they are *extended no farther*. Even this Promise is not kept. The Works are extended farther. All Mankind know it, and complain loudly of it for seven Months together. An Enquiry begins in Parliament. Our Ministers are surprized, and know nothing of the Matter. Altho' they had been disappointed a first time, they took no Care not to be so a second.

I think that I need not explain or enforce this any farther; and therefore I shall observe 7thly, That as there may be some Reason, arising from their past Conduct, to apprehend, that the *French* Court may not be quite so exact, nor so expeditious, as we are made to hope, in fulfilling even the last Promise which they have given us, to *demolish all the Works erected*

erected contrary to the Treaties; so there is great Reason likewise, arising from our past Conduct, to apprehend that they do not understand, on that Side of the Water, by Works contrary to the Treaties, what we do, and always must understand, on this Side of the Water, by those Words: From whence it will follow, that, by dexterous Management, we have brought the clearest Point in Nature to be the most intricate; and that whereas there never could have been Room for the least Dispute, if the Treaty of 1717 had been observed, in Explanation and Moderation of that of *Utrecht*, our departing from it may, and must open a Source of inexhaustible Chicane.

I have already shewn how the Treaty of 1717 explains the Intention, and moderates the Conditions of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, so as to leave the *French* no Colour, either from the Letter or Intention of the Treaties, for doing or acting any thing more than what is there specifically expressed; no, not even on account of discharging the *Canals*; draining the flat Country; or carrying on their Fishing, or any other Trade.

Upon this Foot therefore, the Sense of these Words (*Works contrary to the Treaties*; or *Works done in Contravention to the Treaties*;) is exactly and invariably determined. But the *French* have been artful enough to improve our Complaisance for them, so as to set the Case of *Dunkirk* on quite another Foot; with our M——rs I mean; for with the Nation I hope and believe that impossible to be done.

On the former Foot, every thing, which hath been done at DUNKIRK, is directly against the Letter of both Treaties, and against the Intention of that of *Utrecht*, explained by that of 1717. The *Rigolle*, or Gut, which Mr. *Armstrong* and our M——s allow the *French*, by virtue of their dispensing Power, and the Sluice on the Canal of *Furnes*, to keep this *Rigolle*, or Gut open, are as directly and as plainly against the Intention of the Treaties, as even fortifying the Town, the Harbour and the Strand would be.

But, on the other Foot, there is Room for Chicane. The *French* may say, (and, no doubt, they will say) that

that the Intention of Treaties ought to be determined by the Sense, in which the contracting Parties have, by mutual Agreement, executed them; that as the late King allowed them to have a Communication from DUNKIRK to the Sea, by the Canal of *Mardyke*; so they have been allowed, at present, to have the same Communication by the old Channel; that we did indeed once insist on demolishing their Reparations of the old Jettees; but that, since that Time, and on Occasion of Complaints about other Works, made for improving this Harbour, we have not only expressly approved their making these latter Works, but have tacitly consented to their repairing and supplying the old Jettees, by taking no notice of their not destroying them, nor of their making other Works to hinder as effectually the Flux and Reflux of the Tides from choaking up the Channel, as the Jettees are designed to do; that all this, together with our Approbation of the new Key they have made, and the new Magazines they have built, shew it very evidently to have been our Sense, as well as theirs, that the Intention of the Treaties is not to deprive them of a naked Harbour at DUNKIRK, but only to hinder them from having a fortified Harbour there; that they are far from entertaining any such Thoughts; that *they carry their Fidelity even to a Nicety*, and have not yet rais'd *one single Battery* on the *Strand*; till they attempt which, we have not the least Reason to affirm that they act in *Contravention to the Treaties*.

This and much more, to the same Effect, may the *French* say, whenever they are pressed in good Earnest to fulfil their last Promise, agreeable to the just Expectations of the *British* Nation. Nay, they certainly will insist in this Manner, if they were so pressed; because whatever Reasons they may have to desire that our present Ministers should continue in Power, I can hardly persuade my self that they will, for the Sake of the two *illustrious Brothers*, undo entirely what they have done at DUNKIRK, and fairly lay aside the Hopes of restoring that Port, by Degrees and without *Eclat*, to its former Greatness and Splendour.

K

That

That there is Reason to apprehend such a Conduct from them, we may judge by what we have lately heard from *Dunkirk*; for it is said that Mr. *Laffels*, with some *French* Officers, had been to sound the Water in the Harbour and Channel. Now, to what Purpose can this be? If we are to stand to the Treaties, we must insist that there be no Water; at least, no navigable Water at all in the Harbour and Channel. If we depart from the Treaties, to what Purpose do we dispute about a Foot or two of Water, more or less?

The Question does not turn on such Circumstances as these; whether the Port be capable of receiving 50 or 100 Ships; whether Ships of 50 or 500 Tons go into it, or out of it; whether the Depth of the Water be 14 or 18 or 20 Foot, and the like; but singly in this, whether it be made a Port to any Purpose, or in any Degree whatsoever.

Perhaps we may hear of some Jetties, or other Works destroyed, and a few Appearances of a Demolition; but let it be remember'd, that nothing can be a just Satisfaction and real Security to us, but the reducing *Dunkirk* once more to that Condition, into which it was put by Virtue of the Treaties, and following them as the stated Rule between us and *France* on this Head. Let it be remember'd likewise, that whatever Satisfaction we may obtain, be it more or less, will be owing to the Parliamentary Enquiry, and not to the Care, Vigilance and Spirit of those, who are employ'd in the Administration.

After having made so many Observations on the Conduct of our Ministers in this Affair of *Dunkirk*, I am obliged, in Justice, to take some Notice of the chief Argument, by which their Creatures endeavour to excuse them; for tho' many concur to screen them from Censure, few there are, I think, even amongst these, who presume entirely to justify their Conduct.

It hath been said then that different Times and different Situations of Affairs require different Ways of acting; which is a most undeniable Truth. But as Common-place Wit diverts Nobody, who hath any Wit, so Common-place Maxims impose on Nobody, who hath Sense and Knowledge.

It is true that different Times and Situations require that Ministers of State should both speak and act in different Manners ; but they are never to lose their Object, although they change, in some Measure, the Manner of pursuing it. This Object is, or ought always to be, the greatest National Good. To wise and honest Servants of the Publick, all Countries will be absolutely indifferent, except their own ; and by Consequence they will neither lean to nor from any Foreign Interest, but as that Interest is brought nearer to the Interest of their own Country, or placed in a greater Opposition to it, by the Course of Accidents.

Now, let us apply the Maxim, thus explained, to the Conduct of our Ministers in the Case of *Dunkirk*.

That we have seen and do still see Times and Situations, with respect to *Great Britain* and *France*, very different from those, which our Fathers or we beheld, during forty Years, is true. It is true therefore, that since this Alteration of Times and Situations, a different Manner of speaking and acting towards *France* hath been requisite on our Part. But our general Interest, with respect to *France*, is only thus far changed. Formerly, it was our Interest to oppose all her Measures, and to defy her most exorbitant Power. It is now become our Interest to have a Communication of friendly Measures and Intercourse of friendly Offices with her, and, instead of defying her reduced Power, to be only jealous of its growing again.

In cultivating therefore the Friendship of *France*, and even in avoiding all Appearances of distrusting her, or being jealous of her, our Ministers have acted according to the Rules of good Policy. The *French* have held the same Conduct towards us ; and this mutual Confidence and Amity might certainly have been productive of much publick Good, without any particular Inconveniency or Mischief. It hath been so to *France* ; but it hath not been so to *Great Britain* ; and the Reason of this Difference is plain. The *French* have follow'd the Maxim above-mentioned, but without once losing Sight of their national Interest. Whenever this hath come into Question, they have insisted amicably, but they have insisted as strongly as ever : Witness the Case of *Santa Lucia*, that of

the * *Honours at Sea*, and many others. Nay, whenever they could acquire such a Pretence, as seem'd consistent with the Terms of Friendship, they have artfully enough endeavour'd to diminish our Power, and to wrest from us those Advantages, which they know may some time or other, in our Hands, be of Detriment to them; Witness the Part, which our intimate Friend, the late Duke of *Orleans*, acted in supporting the Claim of *Spain* to the Restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*.

But I am afraid it will be found that our Ministers have suffered the Transports of Friendship to carry them too far in Favour of *France*; particularly, in the Case now before us; for which they must be confess'd inexcusable, notwithstanding the wise Apothegm quoted in their Behalf; unless they can shew that, by departing from a strict Observation of the Treaties, with respect to *Dunkirk*, they have avoided a greater Evil, than the Danger of seeing this Port restored, is and must be reputed; or else that they have procured to their Country a greater Good, than that of keeping *Dunkirk* in the State, to which it was reduced and in which it was to continue, according to the Treaties.

If this sole Excuse, which can be made for our Ministers, will avail them little, when it comes to be tried by the Rules of Reason; it will be quite exploded, when we have Recourse to Experience, and compare the Conduct, which was held by our Ministers, in the Year 1716 and 1717, with that which hath been held for these three or four last Years, as well as the Situation of Affairs, at that Time, with the Situation of Affairs, during the latter Period.

The Purport of the *Provisional Agreement* made in 1716, which was inserted in the fourth Article of the Alliance made in 1717, hath been already mentioned. The *French* were far from consenting easily to make

* Above a Year ago a Lieutenant of an *English* Man of War was broke, as it was said, upon the Instance of *France*, for obliging a *French* Ship to *Strike*, according to his Instructions, as she was going out of one of our own Harbours.

this Step ; and nothing less than the Firmness which we then shew'd, could have forced them to it. I doubt not but they would gladly have destroyed entirely the Canal of *Mardyke*, if they might have been permitted to have had that *Rigolle*, or Gut (for there appears an Affectation in calling it any thing but what it is, a Channel) which hath been allowed them since. The Harbour of *Dunkirk* is a Tide-Harbour, and therefore liable to much Inconveniency ; but this Inconveniency was, in great measure, remedied by the Situation of the old Channel, now restor'd, which runs strait down to the Sea from the Harbour, and hath the Road before it, in which Ships may, at all times, come to an Anchor, though they cannot at all times get into the Port.

The Canal of *Mardyke* runs a great way about, and makes an Elbow, before it can descend to the Sea ; and when it comes there hath no Road across the Entrance of it ; for which Reason, *Dunkirk*, can never be of that Advantage to *France*, and of that Danger to us, with this opening of the Sea, as with the other.

The late King therefore consented, as is observed above, to leave the Canal of *Mardyke*, reduced according to the Terms of the *Provisional Agreement* ; but he was so far from giving the least Way to any thing, that might tend to open the old Channel, that he expressly stipulated the doing of every thing necessary for the farther and more compleat Destruction of it. Thus we see the Difference between our former and our latter Conduct. Let us consider how we stood, at that time, with *France*, and what was the general Situation of our Affairs.

We were then as closely united with *France* as we are now, and the Maxims of cultivating this Union prevailed as strongly in our Councils. A Storm from the *North* was then much more to be fear'd than now. The late Czar's Grandfather was then alive. The famous King of *Sweden* was alive likewise. How we stood with those Princes, and what we had to apprehend from their Intrigues, and from their Arms, I need not explain. At Home there was some Remains of a Rebellion not totally extinguish'd, and a *Jacobite* Party still in being. The *Swedish* Plot against

against the Government was carrying on at that time. *Alberoni* was ripening his formidable Schemes, which he began to execute in 1717, and we were, in Concert with *France*, taking Measures to oppose them.

Let me ask now any Man of common Ingenuity, whether an Argument, drawn from the Situation of Affairs, to excuse some Compliances with *France*, might not have been urged with a better Grace at that Time, than it could be urged, for the same Purpose, now? He will certainly answer that it might; and yet it is urged now, not to excuse some little Complaints, but to excuse what hath been done in direct Contradiction to the Treaties, and for giving up to *France* a great Part of the Advantage and Security, which We were in Possession of by them.

This Difference of Conduct is therefore not to be accounted for by the Difference of Times and Situations. It is to be accounted for by nothing, but by the Difference of Men. We had then other Ministers at Home to give Instructions, and another Minister at *Paris* to execute them. The Times and our Situation, in the Years 1716 and 1717, were not more favourable to us than the Times and our Situation in the Years 1727, 1728 and 1729; and our national Interest, with Respect to *Dunkirk*, hath been exactly the same in both; but our Ministers had not then negotiated themselves into an absolute Dependence on *France*, nor learned, perhaps, a Lesson, that it is much more easy and profitable to evade or defeat a Parliamentary Enquiry, than to govern well at Home, and to support the *Interests*, the *Honour*, and the *Dignity* of the Nation Abroad.

A Full

*A Full and True Account of a S P E E C H
made in PARLIAMENT: and how DUN-
KIRK was sold for French Gold; and how
a Certain Person built a Great House with
the said French Gold.*

IT is a lamentable Thing to consider how much Folly there is, even in the wisest Men, and that they do not take Warning by the Experience of others; insomuch that we have frequently known a Thief rob under the Gallows, while their Fellows are hanging for the same Crime. The Town and Port of DUNKIRK is an Example hereof. The Earl *Clarendon* was impeach'd for giving up the said Town to the *French*; and yet *Robert* Earl of *Oxford* was not warned thereby, insomuch that he was impeach'd for repeating the same Crime; and one would think, that two Ministers being impeached, would be fair Warning to prevent any more from running into the same Snare.

This same DUNKIRK was formerly a very ancient City, and was fenced with strong Walls and Bulwarks, and in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth* was possessed by the *Spaniards*, who used to send out many Ships from thence, to rob the good *English* Subjects of her then Majesty. And the Parliament thereupon was moved by Mr. *Dannet*, Burgess for *Tarmouth*, who made the Speech mentioned in the Title, and said: "How cometh it that such a Number of her Majesty's Subjects be spoiled, robbed, beaten, wounded, themselves taken, and used with such extream Torture, racked, carried away, imprisoned, ransomed, fined, and sometimes executed; and ALL THIS TIME NO WARS? But give me leave to say, For these Ten Years, I am sure, the Subjects of this Land, on the Sea Coasts, have undergone these Tyrannies, and by whom? Even by Two base Towns, DUNKIRK and NEWPORT. DUNKIRK began with Two Ships, and are now increased almost to Twenty.

“ Twenty. They be at Home at Supper, and the
 “ next Day here with us. I must needs confess, that
 “ the great Charge which I know the Lord Admiral
 “ is at continually, by lying ready to take these
 “ Pyrates, is much ; but send to take them, they
 “ strait fly Home. If our Ships return, they are
 “ strait here again. I dare boldly say, they have done
 “ *Englishmen* more Hurt, since they began, than all
 “ *France*, either in the time of *Henry* the VIII.
 “ *Edward* the VI. or *Queen Mary*.”

This is set down in *Townsend's Journal*, Printed 1680.

Now, *Queen Elizabeth* being moved with the
 Cries of her good People did send and stop up the said
 Port of DUNKIRK by Force of Arms ; but after
 she was dead, the Town of DUNKIRK grew
 again grievous, for it lies just over-against the Mouth
 of the River *Thames* ; insomuch that no Ship can
 come in or out but what they see ; and *Oliver Cromwell*
 finding the Damage done by the Town of DUNKIRK,
 did send an Army, and take it away from the *Spaniards*,
 and the *English* did keep Possession of it until it was
 sold to the *French* by a certain *Great Minister*, who
 built a House with the Money for which he sold
 DUNKIRK ; but God was pleas'd to overturn
 his Greatness, and he was impeach'd by Parliament,
 and his House was pull'd down, and the Foundations
 thereof are no where to be found.

Now, the *French* having bought DUNKIRK,
 strengthened the same, and it became a very grievous
 Scourge unto *England*, as many Thousand Sea-faring
 Men now alive can tell, who were taken Prisoners
 by DUNKIRK Privateers in the War Time, and
 many Thousand Merchants have been undone, and
 their Families set a starving, by the cruel Pyrates of
 DUNKIRK taking and spoiling their Ships : And
 moreover, the *Popish* Pretender came from DUN-
 KIRK, in the Year 1708, with a great Fleet of
 Men of War, and intended to have landed in *Eng-
 land* or *Scotland*, but God prevented him. Now,
 when the Peace was made by our late gracious
Queen Anne, the People of *England* did consider,
 that the said Town of DUNKIRK was a Pyratical
 Town,

Town, and Den of Thieves, which spoil'd honest Men of their Goods ; and therefore it was resolv'd, that the Town should be pulled down, and the Harbour stopp'd up, so that no Ships might come out afterwards to hurt the *Englishmen* ; and a Colonel was sent with a *Strong Arm* to pull down the Town, and to stop up the Harbour ; but it is said, that the *Arm* of this Colonel was not so *Strong* as the *French Louid'or's* ; and they say, that a good Purse thereof made him slubber Things so, that the Harbour was not fill'd up so as it might have been.

Now, when King *George I.* came to the Crown, (God bless him) the Parliament (being angry that a scandalous Peace had been made with *France*, and that the Harbour of *Dunkirk* had not been fill'd up) and 'Squire *Robert Walpole*, they impeach'd *Robert Earl of Oxford*, and he was turn'd out of all Employ, and he was put into the Tower of *London*, and the Harbour of *Dunkirk* was stopp'd up, insomuch that a *London Wherry* could not go into it ; but now, within these two Years, the *Frenchmen*, by the Direction and Help of one *Busbell*, an *Englishman*, a treacherous Rogue to the *English* Nation, has pulled down the Banks, and has open'd the Harbour, insomuch that Ships of 500 Ton can go up into the Bason which lies in the Middle of the Town ; and the *Frenchmen* work privately at making the Harbour better and better. Now, therefore let us pray God, that he will be pleas'd to give Wisdom to the Multitude of Counsellors, and that he will put Righteousness into their Hearts, so that they will scorn Corruption, and that he would turn his heavy Scourge away from us, and that he will grant us Repentance, and that Oppression be no more seen in our Streets ; and that the Poor may go up for the Welfare of the Nation, and the Wicked, be they never so Rich, may be punish'd, according to their Deserts, and that *French* Gold may be trod under Foot, and never more seduce any *English* Counsellors.

11-10-1964

The Occasion of taking Notice of this silly Letter at present is, that another Piece has been handed about within these few Days, under the Title of, *The Joint and Separate Account or Narrative of George Colcott and Robert Jones, Mariners, relating to what passed at their several Meetings with others about the Affair of DUNKIRK*, which seems to be written with the same Spirit and Design, and which, by the strong Resemblances betwixt them, one would think, must be a Child of the same Parent.

The *Frenchman* says in his Letter—— That these Reports could be suggested and spread abroad only by Men of turbulent Spirits, who have endeavoured to insinuate the same, with a View of disturbing the good Harmony, which now subsists between the two Crowns. The Narrative has the same Thing, with a little Alteration of Phrase; for there *George Colcott* and

and his Friend *Robin* say, that they understand from the Conversation in general, which they had at their Meetings, that the Complaint and Noise about *Dunkirk* was made with an Intent to break the Peace, &c.

From this and several other Passages it will appear, that if they are not the Work of the same Hand, they are at least done by Persons in the same Interest, and such as are no Enemies to what has been doing at *Dunkirk*.

The Narrative tells us, that the Complaint was not only made with Intent to break the Peace, but to overturn Sir *R* — *W* — and cast a Slur upon the present Measures — But must not the Folly of these Men be as great as their Wickedness to attempt to overturn Two such great Men as Sir *R* — *W* — and his Brother, by a Couple of such insignificant Instruments as *Colcott* and *Jones*? Yet so the Narrative would make us believe; nay, they were all to be made great Men; and, at one of the Meetings, a certain Gentleman told them, that if they succeeded in the Affair about *Dunkirk*, there would be Vacancies for every body that had given their Attendance upon that Occasion: I suppose *Colcott* was to be made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and *Jones* Ambassador and Plenipotentiary; whereas, I dare answer for it, that the Gentlemen, who took their Examinations, did not think either of them worthy to be made a Collector of the Port of *London*, tho' they had been proved to be Smuglers, as a certain Gentleman asserted them to be.

But who engaged them to go and make their Affidavits before that learned and eloquent Chairman, Sir *John Gonson*, and who has been at the Expence of printing, publishing, and dispersing from the *Post-Office* this Affidavit so Ministerially penn'd, I confess is more than I can guess.

I conceive it cannot be the worthy Magistrate before-named, who at his own Charge so frequently refreshes the Publick with his eloquent Orations, in some of which a peculiar Charge is given against the heinous Sin of Perjury; for I am sorry to say it, the chief Point aim'd to be proved by this Affidavit happens to be unluckily false.

Some Writers hold that Politicians may lie, provided Matters are so well laid, that they cannot be detected in their Lies; but here our Affidavit-Men and their Instructors committed an unhappy Mistake, for the Lord B—— is sworn to have been present at one of their Meetings, and *Robert Jones* says (but *Bob* was always a great Lyar) he knew him, for he saw him when he came from *France*, rode by his Coach-Side betwixt *Dover* and *Sittingburn*, saw him likewise at Dinner at *Sittingburn*, and had seen him at several other Times.—— I say, before they ventured so deep, they should have enquired whether the said Lord was within the Bills of Mortality at the Time sworn, that there might at least have been a Possibility of its being true; but see the ill Success of Blundering; for it appears, that the said Lord was several Miles out of Town, at the House of another noble Lord, who is ready to swear it himself, even to the Face of a certain great Man, who is in such high Reputation for his Veracity and Intelligence, that he is forced to have Recourse to the supplemental Evidence of *Collocott* and *Jones*; worthy Supporters! to gain him a little Belief, even of his own Party!

But no doubt this was look'd upon to be a fine Stroke of Politicks; for sure no good Protestant, who believed this Lord to be present at these Meetings, would believe the Harbour of *Dunkirk* to be repaired in such a manner, as to be able to receive an Hundred and Fifty Ships, some of Three, Four, and even Five Hundred Tons; or that the Keys were all repaired, and one built intirely new, and carried from the Town to near *Chateau Gaillard*.—— That a strong Wall is made from the *Jettee-Head*, on the West Side of the Channel to the *Risban*, and continued almost to the old Citadel.—— That the Sluice had been opened, and the Water let out almost every Tide, to clear the Harbour of the Mud, &c.—— That, at Spring Tides, there is from eighteen to twenty Foot Water in the said Harbour, and between the Beacons at the Mouth of the Channel no less than from twenty to twenty two Foot.—— That several Beacons are erected on both Sides the Channel up to the Town, and that Soldiers as well as others were daily at Work in clearing and repairing the Harbour with Stones
taken

taken from the Demolition, and others brought as far as from *Boulogne*—That several new Ships have been launch'd in the Harbour, particularly one in *January* last, of ninety five Foot on the Keel, with Ports for thirty six Guns—That there are others upon the Stocks ready to be launch'd—That Ships are obliged to take their Ballast up out of the Harbour, in order to render it deeper—That the Waters of *Mardyke, Boubourg, Bergues, Moer and Furnes*, may in a short Time be brought through the old Harbour and Bafon, to improve the said Port, beyond what it was even in the late War—I say, who would believe all this, tho' it had been confirmed by the concurrent Testimony of a Dozen Witnesses, and known by several Members of the House of Commons; nay, confirmed, and even made stronger by the Evidence of the Government's Papers too; for this Lord's Presence at these Meetings (like the Bishop's Toe in the Milk, according to the Notions of the Vulgar) would have turn'd it all into Error and Falshood. Well! the Lord's not being present was a little unfortunate, but the Meeting, however, was in *Durham-Yard*, which is some good Luck; and that Circumstance alone, it is hoped, will, in the Opinion of some Persons, sink the Water in the Harbour of DUNKIRK, at least two Foot, and make the Ship which *Taylor* said drew eleven Foot abaft, to draw no more than eight.

And here I cannot forbear making a Wish, that the Worshipful Sir *John Gonson* would have been so good as to have taken the Affidavit of some Person, who had been an Eye-witness of what Monsieur *Blandiniere* has done, and that the like Methods were used to acquaint the Publick, that the Order obtained from the Court of *France* (being the Fruit of this Enquiry) was already begun to be put in Execution.

This is a little Digression; I must return to my Narrative. It is alledged that People, who made the Discoveries, had some Rewards promised them, and that one of the Gentlemen, at the Meeting, drew an Order upon the Treasurer of the Troops at *Calais*, to pay a Hundred Livres to *Benjamin Hayes*, for his Expences over. I am inclined to question much the Correspondence between the Gentleman named, and

and the Treasurer of the King's Troops at *Calais* ; but no doubt, a *Frenchman* would very willingly advance Money to send over a Man who was coming on Purpose to discover to an *English* Parliament the Repairs that were made at DUNKIRK, because the Enquiry was manifestly intended for the Interest of *France*, and not of *Great Britain*. As to the Promises said to be made in Favour of *Busbell*, it is to be hoped, this true Affidavit of *Collicott* and *Jones* will do their Friend *Busbell* more Service, than their Evidence in the House of Commons, with those that have it in their Power to bring him over, without the Danger of being thrown into Goal.

As I have taken Notice of those Parts of the Affidavit, which are a little defective in Points of Truth, it is but just to observe upon those, where the Facts are not to be contested.

I make no doubt then, but they met at the *Swan* Tavern behind the *Royal Exchange*, on *Saturday* the 7th of *February* ; that they dined in a large Room ; that the Wine they drank was Port ; nor will I dispute but there might be a *Screen* before the Door ; which I think is a large Concession, for there are those who will perhaps maintain, that where there is a *Screen*, there must be some Roguery, because of the great Noise which was made some Years ago about a certain *Screen* ; but this I shall leave to the Conscience of that Great Man, who is best acquainted with the Use and Advantage of a *Screen*. But to go on, I believe it will not be denied, but that a certain Gentleman went often in and out of the Room ; but whether to draw Water, or to order the Waiters to draw Wine, I confess is not clearly made out ; and I am sorry the Affidavit did not set forth, whether or no there was a Chamber-Pot in the Room, because it would have served to have cleared up the Matter ; which I take to be a Circumstance of as great Importance to the Affair of *Dunkirk*, as any thing in the whole Affidavit.

There are several other Facts in this Affidavit, which I take to be undeniable ; as that they dined at the *Swan* Tavern in *Thames Street* ; that they were carried into a Parlour at Mr. B——'s House in *Durham-Yard* ; that Sir W—— W—— the two Mr. P——'s, and a tall young Gentleman they did

did not know, and Mr. B—— were there, but no body else; that they dined that Day at the *Cross-Keys* near *Covent Garden*; nay, that they sent Porters to their Wives to let them know that they should not come home that Night; that they lay at the *Star Inn* in the *Strand*; that they went in Coaches the next Day to the *Ordnance Coffee-House* in *Old Palace-Yard*; that, after their Examination, they dined at the *Sun Tavern, Westminster*; and, which is more, I even believe that Mr. E—— paid the Reckoning. Then let the Friends of a certain Person in Power triumph; for who is it, that believes all this! will believe that DUNKIRK is repaired!

But these Circumstances were before made known by a certain Person in a high Station, and in a certain Place, who in these Particulars has supported the Evidence of *Collocott* and *Jones*, much better than they have done his, in Respect to the Lord's being present at the Meeting.

This Gentleman is the *Argos* of the State; nothing can escape his penetrating Sight; for scarce a single Patriot, much less a Number of them, can dine beyond *Fleet-Ditch*, but he will tell you whether their Dinner be Fowl or Mutton; their Wine *French* or Port. How happy is this Nation in a Genius which always busies it self in such sublime Discoveries! and how pleased ought the People to be to see the Money allowed for *secret Service*, laid out in procuring Intelligence so essential to the publick Safety! And sure this Money is better laid out than the like Sum would have been in detecting the several indirect Practices, in Trade, betwixt *Dunkirk* and *Ireland*, and other Places; which *Bushell* and *Collocott* both offered to do to this Man of Vigilance, who then gave them a deaf Ear, tho' he is pleased to listen to them now.

But to speak a little more seriously upon this Matter—— If DUNKIRK be a National Concern; if the repairing and opening its Harbour must prove a thing of pernicious Consequence to *Great Britain*, was the bringing this Enquiry upon the *Tapis* the Duty of a Man of Honour or not? If the Gentlemen, who stirr'd it, endeavour'd to find out the most authentick Proofs, by enquiring of those who trade all the Year to the very Place, and must know the

the Truth; if they promised to indemnify them from any Loss or Damage they should sustain by making the Discovery; or even if they had given them Money to satisfy them for their Loss of Time; if they kept their Proceedings about it secret, till it should be moved in a proper Place: This Affidavit evinces the Necessity there was of doing so. Is there any thing in all this of which they have the least Cause to be ashamed? Do they pretend to alledge that they were desired to give Evidence of any thing they did not know of their own Knowledge? Or can any of them say, that any Words were put into their Mouths?

There was nothing which we ever had more at Heart, than the Destruction of the Port and Harbour of DUNKIRK, and few things which we either apprehend more, or had more Reason to apprehend, than the Reparation and Restoration of the same. When it appeared therefore, by incontestable Proof, that this Port and Harbour had been long repairing, and were almost restored to their former Perfection; and this at a time when our *Ministers* valued themselves upon the Fidelity of *France* to them, and upon their mighty Influence there; one would have thought, that the *Ministers* might have been very well satisfied with evading a direct Question upon their Conduct, and getting out of this Difficulty with Impunity. But one could have hardly expected what we see happen, that instead of endeavouring to have this whole Matter forgot as soon as possible, they should daily refresh the Minds of Men about it, and renew the Talk of it, as if it tended to their Honour; that instead of excusing themselves for having suffered *Dunkirk* to be restored, they should venture to accuse others, for having proved this Neglect, or even Connivance upon them; as if they modestly imagined, that a Measure necessary for asserting the Honour and Interest of the Nation, on so essential a Point, and which has already so good an Effect, could be rendered unpopular, because *Colclcott* and *Jones* imagined, it might be intended to overturn Sir R—— W——, and cast a Slur upon his Measures. A fine Comparison to hope to raise a Spirit upon! between the National Interest about *Dunkirk*, and the Preservation of Sir R—— W——'s Power!

6 MA 50

PROTESI-

PROTESILAUS:
OR, THE
CHARACTER
OF AN
EVIL MINISTER.

BEING A
PARAPHRASE

On Part of the
Tenth Book of *TELEMACHUS*.

By *CHARLES FORMAN*, Esq;

And Dedicated to the RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir R----- W-----.

Curse on his Virtues! they've undone his Country. Cato.

L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR, and sold by the Book-
sellers of *London* and *Westminster*. 1730.

[Price Six-pence.]

PROTESTANT
OF THE
CHARACTER
OF
EVIL MINISTERS
IN THE
PARLIAMENT
OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND
IN THE YEAR 1801

By JAMES HAMILTON, Esq.
of the Middle Temple, Barrister at Law.
LONDON:
Printed by J. JOHNSON, in Pall-mall.





TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

Sir Robert Walpole, &c.

S I R,



F I thought, in the whole Universe, there was a Man that knew how to apply some of the following Characters better than you do, I would use my utmost Endeavour to find him out, and make him a Present of them. But as such an Enquiry would be but downright Madness, while you live, and manage the publick Affairs, every Man of Sense will think I act prudently, in sparing my self the Pains of so unnecessary a Search, and approve my Judgment, in desiring your Patronage of a Piece, about which I have spent a few Hours with a great deal of Satisfaction.

The Want of Employment has very often put Men upon such Amusements, to pass away their Time, and keep themselves out of Idleness, as have afterwards turned to the Advantage of their Country: This is what I always had in View in every thing I publish'd, and hope that the following Paraphrase on Part of the Tenth Book of the *Adventures of TELEMACHUS*, will be altogether as well received by *Great Britain*, as some of my other Performances have been, especially since it is expressly intended as an Introduction to an Enquiry into the Conduct of a certain Minister of State, who has made a mighty Bustle in the World. Not, Sir, that I aspire to the Reputation of an Author; I only aim at giving such Hints as I think may be improved to the Service of the Nation: And were I not fully persuaded, that the following Piece, and the Things it is designed to introduce, will have very useful and important Consequences, I neither would venture to expose it in publick, nor, of all Men living, make you the Patron of it.

For how useful soever the Observations I have made abroad may be to *Great Britain*, I know very well, that it would be ridiculous in me to expect to please you by publishing them, or even by any thing else that I can do for her Service. Nevertheless, I shall always go on in what I think is my Duty; and in doing so, shew the World, that I neither flatter you, in Order to patch up old Quarrels, nor expect any Gratification, for singling you out, from amongst all the Ministers of *Europe*, to make so extraordinary a Present to.

As you certainly possess a great many Qualities, which not only distinguish you from the Bulk of Mankind, but, I may say, without Partiality, even from all your Fellow-subjects, not one excepted, your *Modesty* is none of the less common Topicks of Conversation. It being then so universally talk'd of, I stand in no dread of your Indignation, for not bringing Incense in my Hand, and mingling with the Crowd of your Petitioners and Clients. You see already, Sir, that I don't intend to address you in the Stile and Fustian of the Rank of common Dedicators; I come like a plain downright *Briton*, to present you with the Character of an *Ambitious, Corrupt, Wicked Minister*, because you are a *Mighty Minister* your self: In reading it, which I don't doubt but you will do, with your usual Temper and Moderation, and with as great an Eye to the Interest of your Country, and the Honour of your Sovereign, as you have had in every Part of your Conduct, you may, perhaps find Circumstances enough in it to lead you to the Knowledge of the Original, or at least of a Man very like him.

In this Dedication, I ascribe no Quality to you which you do not possess; I enter into no Genealogical Account of the Antiquity of your Family, and Achievements of your Ancestors; I make use of no indirect Means to insinuate to *Great Britain*, that she enjoys no Blessing or Advantage, but what flows directly thro' the Canal of your Administration; nor even breathes but by your Pains and Vigilance for her Safety: These things I know you abhor to hear, as much as you do all fulsome Panegyricks on your Generosity, in neglecting your own private Interest, and postponing it to the Good of the Publick, as well as all extravagant Hyperbole's on your Abilities in the Art of Governing, and the Depth of your Politicks, in keeping several foreign Courts in Dependence. To keep myself entirely within the *Probable*, and
not

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not to launch out into the *Marvellous*, I lavish away no Rhetorick, either on your personal Courage shewn to your Enemies, or your Humility to your Inferiors, or your Benevolence to Mankind in general, or your Condescension to those who differ from you in their Sentiments concerning the Interest of the Nation; or, where you shine most, your Justice and Impartiality, in advancing worthy qualified Men to publick Employments, instead of your own *unmeriting Relations*. All these copious Subjects of Oratory I purposely omit, as being controverted Points, which more properly fall under the Cognizance of *Great Britain*, whose future Happiness, or Misery, whose Liberty or Slavery, seems now to depend entirely upon the Events which are to be expected from a Conduct that has drawn the Eyes of all *Europe* upon it, and is become the Wonder and Surprize of all Men of common Sense.

By this Method, I may, perhaps, pass for a very unpolite Dedicator, in the Opinion of a certain Sett of People; but to make me amends for such a Misfortune, I know I shall be look'd upon by every body, your self not even excepted, to be a very sincere, impartial, fearless one, and, upon that Account, I promise myself as many Readers as there are Well-wishers to their Country.

You cannot but be sensible Sir, that there is no Character in Life, in which a free People are so much interested, as in that of a Minister of State, since their very Fate, in a great Measure, depends upon his Probity, or his Corruption: There is no Character so amiable, nor yet one so detestable, just according to the Use he makes of his Power. A Minister is certainly the most important Man in a Nation, because he is chief Counsellor to his Sovereign, and but too often his Oracle. According to the Influence he has over his Master, he disposes of the Hopes, the Expectations, the Properties, the Liberties, and even the Lives of Millions of sometimes much better Men than himself. If he is a just, vigilant, able Statesman, no Praises, no Thanks, no Rewards can be sufficient for the Pains he must necessarily be at, and the honest Services he daily renders to his Country, because he has so many strong Temptations to act otherwise. But if he is corrupt, mercenary, avaricious, or ignorant in his Business, there ought to be no Medium, no Mercy in his Punishment; the greatest a Nation can inflict upon him is by much too small for his Crimes. His Ignorance

rance may be as destructive as his Perfidiousness, and the latter in Proportion to the Trust his Country reposes in him: His Guilt in doing Evil is aggravated by the Opportunity he has, and the Obligation he is under, of doing Good. Yet notwithstanding this incontestable Truth, some Princes think themselves obliged to protect their Ministers right or wrong, from the Resentments of their People. I remember to have read, in the Letter to Mr. *Law*, upon his Arrival in *London*, a Passage which I hope will never be made a Precedent of in *Great Britain*, tho' I can't deny but that it was practised with Justice enough in *France*. "The Duke *Regent* (says the ingenious Author of that Letter) who knew better than any Man what Measures the Comptroller general had advised or opposed, and who consequently was the best, and, indeed, the only Judge of his true Demerits, with a Resolution, worthy the Imitation of all Princes who would be well served, protected his Minister from the Fury of the Populace.

Mr. *Law's* Case was very different from that of any other Minister; and it was certainly generous in the *Regent* to protect him: But I would not have this Author's Doctrine become at any time hereafter a Standing Maxim of Policy at St. *James's*; on the contrary, I would, to prevent so fatal an Event, have it stigmatized in time with the utmost Marks of Infamy, that some future King may not be misled and betrayed, by it, into a Belief, that he is obliged in Honour to protect a Minister, whose Crimes have rendered him a Disgrace to his Country, and odious to Mankind. This Principle, if it gains ground, may be attended with Consequences very fatal to the *British* Liberties, to the *British* Commerce, and, in a Word, to all those few remaining Advantages, which, no Thanks to our Enemies, or false Friends, are yet peculiar to *Britons*.

It may some time or other happen, as it has already happened, that *Britain* may see a Prince on her Throne, who may think himself very well served, when the Nation finds it self very ill used. If such a Prince should really believe himself obliged in Honour to protect his Minister in all his Plunder and Rapine; if he should share with him in the Spoil, and join his own Natural Inclination and particular Interest to what he sees an established Maxim and Principle of Honour, the Liberties of *Britain* would be in a very precarious Condition; they would be insensibly

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bly sapped and undermined, if the Minister should either be a mettled, enterprizing Fellow himself, or have such a Man behind the Curtain to encourage and direct him. Should such a *Director* be a *Foreigner*, and bred up in the Exercise of arbitrary Power abroad, we need not expect any Bowels in him for our *Constitution*; the Lords and Commons would, in Process of Time, become of little use; they would be laid aside by Degrees, as impertinent Cloggs upon the Royal Prerogative: A Minister alone would lay *Taxes* full as well, and a *Standing Army* levy them full as expeditiously as an Act of Parliament. Nothing, in such a Case, would prevent our falling into downright Slavery, but that Courage and Resolution with which *Britain* has so fortunately exerted her self upon some memorable Occasions, and, I hope, will always do so in time, before the Thrust comes too home upon her, to parry it.

But, Sir, I would not have it inferr'd from what I have said, that I think a King should, upon every slight Occasion, deliver up his Minister to the Fury of the Populace; to do so, would be the Height of Cruelty and ill Policy: No, Sir, all I contend for in this Argument is, that when the Nation is universally dissatisfied with the Conduct of a Minister! when his Malversations seem flagrant! when his Actions appear notoriously scandalous and destructive of the publick Welfare! when the *Vox Populi* calls for Justice, and the Cry for Punishment grows loud and importunate! it is then that a *British* King should shew his Wisdom and Care of his own Family, by making appear his Love for his People, and his Concern for their Interest; he should, in my humble Opinion, immediately divest his Favourite of his Power; he should turn him out of his Post, and leave him to the Law. When that is done, true Patriots will attack him with Courage, and stand in no Dread of the Royal Displeasure for doing so; if the Minister has any Pensioners in either House of Parliament, those Pensioners will leave him to stand or fall by the Justice or Injustice of his Cause. *Men that are capable of selling their Country for Bribes, are as capable of turning ungrateful, in time of Disgrace, to those who bribed them.* The Minister, thus left alone, will only find himself in that Case of which no honest Man was ever yet afraid: If he's innocent of what he stands accused, notwithstanding Appearances against him, he will be publicly acquitted before

before all the World, and return to his Master's Esteem, Favour, and Confidence, with Honour and Triumph: But if he is really guilty, all his Villainies will then be brought to Light upon his Trial, the Nation will be saved from his treasonable Designs, the King will stand altogether blameless in the Eyes of his People; nay, the People will adore their Sovereign, while the Law is punishing his Minister, according to the Notoriety of his Crimes.

This, Sir *Roberts*, I take to be a very impartial Way of Reasoning, and very wholesome honest Advice; which every Prince, whose *Will* is not the Law of the Nation he governs, will, in the main, find it his Interest and greatest Security to follow.

But Politicks apart for a few Moments.

When I first sat down to the following Piece, I intended to keep as close to my Author as possible, and try if I could mend the two former Translations of *Telemachus*; had I been successful, I was resolved to go thro' the whole Sixteen Books; but I quickly found I should fall very short of those Gentlemen who have translated them already. The Archbishop of *Cambray* was inimitable while he lived, and still continues so; and all those who endeavour to turn him into *English*, will, besides that Difficulty, find another invincible one, of our Language being inferior to the *French* for those sort of Compositions. However, not being discouraged so far as to give over a Design which I thought very useful to the Publick, I resolved, in spite of all Obstacles, to put the Characters of *Protesilaus* and *Timocrates* in such a Light, and give them such a Turn, as might render them more intelligible and useful to an *English* Reader. To this End, I ventured to paraphrase where I could not translate, and supply such Places as I thought the Archbishop had left, or rather Time had rendered, a little defective.

I cannot subscribe to the Opinion of some ill-natur'd injudicious Criticks, who call his *Telemachus* a Satire upon the late *French* King and his Ministers; nothing can be more maliciously ridiculous than such a Charge against him. The Archbishop was known to be a strict Moralist, and a great Lover of Mankind; besides the Lustre and Nobility of his Family, he was Preceptor to the Princes of *France*; he had great Obligations to the King, and was a Person of Honour and Gratitude, as well as a Man of Sense and Piety. Can any one then imagine,

that

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that he would write a Libel upon his Sovereign, when he saw him adored by all his People? or a Satyr upon his Ministers, when *France* was in her utmost Grandeur, and her Affairs in the most prosperous and flourishing Condition by their Administration? Besides, Sir, *France* has very seldom had the Misfortune, which *England* so frequently groans under, of being governed by mercenary, vile, ignorant, haughty Ministers.

Louis the Great was not to be served in such a Manner; he was greater in nothing, than in the Care he had to gain the Affections of his People; nor did he shew his Care more in any thing than in the Choice of his Ministers. A good King, I confess, may sometimes be surprized into the Choice of a bad Minister; but a bad King never employs a good one: Such a Minister is not for his Purpose. The *Grand Monarque*, as the *French* justly call him, was as accessible as the meanest Person in his Kingdom; his Court, even his Bed-chamber was always open to his Subjects, if they had any Complaints to make. It is true, he was absolute, and would be obeyed, and why not? Such were then, and such are still the Laws of *France*. But he never made use of his absolute Power to encourage Injustice or Corruption in his Ministers, or shelter them from the Resentments of the Nation, if they deserv'd them, which I don't find they ever did; for I think it may be said for the Honour, as well as the Happiness of *France*, that her Ministers have generally made it their Endeavour to signalize themselves by their Duty to their Prince, and Zeal to aggrandize their Country; witness the Condition *France* is in at present, notwithstanding all her Misfortunes and Disappointments, when almost all the Powers of *Europe* were confederated together against her. In short, it was remarked in the Reign of *Louis XIV.* (and I believe the Remark may still stand good) that the *French* enjoyed more real Liberty under their absolute Monarch, than some People in *Europe*, who were perpetually boasting of their Freedom, did under their limited one. So that, to return to the Archbishop, those who say he was exil'd from Court upon Account of his Book, know nothing of the Matter. It is no more than a fine Piece of Morality, and, I may venture to say, the best that has ever been writ, in which Persons of all Ranks and Conditions of Life may learn what all the World ought to endeavour to be, Virtuous, Brave, and Honest. But it would be an endless Task,

and so much above my Strength, to enter into all the Beauties and due Commendation of the *Adventures* of TELEMACHUS, that I shall be wiser than to attempt what every body has hitherto miscarried in : All I shall do, according to the Duty of modern *Prefaces* or *Dedications*, which you please, is to say something of the Characters contained in the following Sheets.

To begin with *Idomeneus*, as the *primum Mobile* of the whole Machine (for it is generally, tho' not always some Fault or Weakness in the King that makes a bad Minister) we see him removed out of his own Country, and placed on a Throne, which neither he nor any of his Ancestors had once any Thoughts of ever possessing: He is represented as brave in his Person, forward in War, and a *Prince form'd for Victory*. With these Accomplishments he would certainly make an excellent King, if *Protesilaus* did not mislead him. Notwithstanding all his Virtues, we find him the Scourge of his People, by the Power he gives his Favourite over them; while he affects to become arbitrary and terrible to his Subjects, he makes himself a Slave to his Minister. " When
 " a King, says *Mentor* to *Telemachus* in the 15th Book,
 " accustoms himself to no other *Law* than his own *Will*,
 " and gives a Loose to his Passions, he assumes a *Power*
 " to do every thing, and can do every thing; but, by
 " straining that Power too high, he saps, at the same
 " time, the very Foundations of his Throne: He has
 " no longer any certain Rule, or establish'd Maxims of
 " Government: He makes himself a Prey to Flatterers:
 " He ceases to command a free People, and becomes a
 " Tyrant over Slaves. Who is it then that will venture
 " to tell him the Truth? Every body gives Way; wise
 " Men fly from the Court, they hide themselves, they
 " groan in secret over the dying Liberties of their Coun-
 " try. Nothing but a sudden and violent Revolution
 " can bring back Things into their own natural Chan-
 " nel, and reduce the King within the Bounds of that
 " Law which he has broken thro'; very often the At-
 " tempt, which is only designed to bring him to Reason,
 " proves fatal to him, and ends in his Destruction.
 " Nothing threatens him so much with an unfortunate
 " Catastrophe, as that very Authority which he abuses,
 " and gives too great a Scope to: Like a Bow bent too
 " far, it breaks and flies, if you do not immediately
 " unbend it. *Idomeneus* is, in himself, thoroughly just
 " and

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“and virtuous; but by this bewitching Thirst after absolute Power, which (deluded Prince!) he only possess’d in Imagination, while *Protesilaus* really exercised it in Person, he would have tumbled himself out of his Throne before he had been undeceived, if the Gods had not thought fit to send us to disabuse him, and shew him the Consequence of that blind extravagant Authority which he so much affected, and which is so contrary to the Right and Nature of a free-born People to submit to. Even something like Miracles was necessary to open his Eyes.

I believe you will grant me, Sir *Robert*, that the Archbishop never was more in the right, than in this Expression: You are so well versed in the *British* Affairs, that no Man knows better than you do, that it requires even something more than Miracles, to open the Eyes of an infatuated, betray’d Prince, and save him from his Minister. King *James II.* had more than Miracles laid before him; he had the Truth shewn him in her own naked Colours, but all to no Purpose; his Minister was too many for his Friends. That poor Prince was punctually inform’d of every Step the *Dutch* made towards his Ruin; that they were actually arming to dethrone him, and dispossess a Race which had been * scepter’d in *Europe* above Three Thousand Years, if we can credit our best Antiquaries. He saw them preparing to invade his Dominions, to bring War and Destruction into the Bowels of his Country; he had Offers of timely and sufficient Assistance from *France*; but his Fate was irreversibile; he rejected every thing, and smarted at last for his Incredulity. When a Prince is devoted to Ruin, all Advice, all Warnings, all former Examples, are of no Use to him; he shuts his Eyes and Ears to every thing, but the evil Counsel of those very Men who are actually betraying him. I shall conclude this Paragraph, without making any further Reflections on the Character of *Idomeneus*. It is the present Happiness of *Great Britain* to have reap’d this Advantage from the Misfortune of King *James*, that, as far as human Prudence can provide for her Safety, her *Laws* have now secured her from the Attempts of her Kings, should they entertain arbitrary Designs against her Liberty, by providing Punishments for such wicked Ministers, who are so unnatural to their Country, as to advise them to

* First in *Galicia*, then in *Ireland*; afterwards in *Scotland*, and last in *England*.

it, and then foolish enough to think to shelter themselves under an *Act of Grace*, from the Rage and Indignation of an injur'd People: A People as tenacious of their Liberty, as loyal to their Prince, while he makes no Encroachments upon it!

Protefilans, Sir, is the next Character I shall consider, because it has furnished *Mentor* with such beautiful and nervous Arguments, in exposing the Artifices and Villainy of that harden'd Traitor to his Country: Arguments! which every *Briton* ought to make his Children learn by Heart, as the Touchstone by which to try their Ministers of State for the future. Considering that the Archbishop lived in a Nation, whose greatest Felicity, as I have already observed, has been, for these sixty Years past, to have Ministers zealous for the Honour and Interest of their Country: Considering that he saw no Examples of *Bribery* and *Corruption* amongst them, for which some of ours have been publickly stigmatized and punished: Considering that he was a Stranger to the Methods that have been used, this Century, in some Places in *Europe*, of purchasing Votes, and bribing Men by Pensions and infamous Gratifications, to sell the Honour and Interest of their Country to foreign Schemes and Designs, and consent to the loading their Principals with new Burthens and extraordinary Taxes, under the Notion of Secret Services, to raise Money for the Bribes and Pensions they receive for this infamous Traffick: Considering, I say, that he saw none of these things, nor of a great many more clandestine Actions, which I omit mentioning at present, to avoid Prolixity, I am astonished how he could give us so compleat a Picture of a thorow-pac'd Knave, as he has done in his Minister *Protefilans*. If you say, that I have added to it, and helped him out by my own Observations upon that Species of *Publick Robbers*; Don't mistake me, Sir, I mean none but *Evil Ministers*: I can answer, that I have done little more than retouch it in such Places where I thought the Colours were grown a little too weak for the Age we live in: All the masterly Strokes are the Archbishop's; I can pretend to nothing but some of the Drapery at most.

Timocrates is another extraordinary Character in its kind, but not altogether so applicable in all its Parts, tho' in some it may, as that of *Protefilans*; for I don't read, that any of our Secretaries of State ever took upon them the execrable Office of an Assassin (where the

Laws

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Laws were not strained, by forc'd Construtions, to give a Sanction to Murder and Slaughter) tho' they have stoop'd to Drudgeries altogether as infamous, and much more destructive to their Country. Wherefore I hasten from *Timocrates*, as a discarded Understrapper, and proceed to *Hegesippus*.

As soon as that Courtier receives Orders from the King to seize *Protesilaus*, and carry him to the Isle of *Samos*, he then can be as good and as bold a Subject as any in the Kingdom, tho' but a Moment before he was an errant Knave and Coward; a Knave, in concealing so long from his Sovereign what he then revealed with so many aggravating Circumstances: A Coward, if not a Traytor, in not venturing his own Life, as it is every Subject's Duty to do, *to rescue his Prince out of the Hands of a Villain that is visibly betraying him, and contriving his Ruin.* For my Part, had I been upon *Felton's* Jury, I should have been much more inclined to acquit, than bring him in Guilty of Murder, for delivering his Country from the ambitious and enslaving Designs of the Haughty Duke of———*Buckingham.*

Philocles is a shining Character; and had a certain *English* Nobleman been banished his Country, as well as turned out of the Command of the Navy, and been Contemporary with the Archbishop, I believe all Mankind would have thought that his Grace had him in his Eye, when he drew the chief Strokes of it. If there is any thing to be objected to this Character, it is the Damp it strikes on the bravest and loyalest Men, to see Courage, Conduct, Loyalty, Integrity, and all the Virtues that entitle a Man to the Favour of his Prince, and the Notice and Acknowledgment of his Country, made the very Instruments to ruin the Possessor of them, and trampled under Foot, to glut the Cruelty, and gratify the Ambition of an insolent Favourite.

Sir, I believe I begin to grow tedious, and consequently very troublesome to you; wherefore I hasten to conclude with a few Reflections on the Character of *Mentor*. If the sublime Author is inimitable, and consistent with himself throughout the whole Piece, it is in this Character that I may say he is truly in his own Sphere, and works with Satisfaction and Delight. When he is drawing Characters, in which human Nature has no Honour, but rather Disgrace and Infamy, we find him in Pain; he suffers in every Sentence: But when he has

an Opportunity of shewing the advantageous Side of the Picture; when he is displaying in that admirable Piece the Beauties of Loyalty to our King, Love to our Country, Steadiness and Resolution in supporting its Interest, Benevolence and Compassion to our Fellow-creature; Courage in Distress; Constancy in conjugal Affection; Fidelity and Generosity in Friendship; and above all, the Duties of Religion; it is then he soars to those heavenly Mansions from whence he was certainly inspired; from whence he received that *Grace* which has so justly acquired him the Character of as true a Friend, as loyal a Subject, as humble a Man, as devout a Christian, and as good a Prelate, as any Age has yet produced. In drawing *Minerva*, he had no more to do, than to sit to himself. It is then as little Wonder, that in *Mentor* we see the Picture of *Messire Francois de Salignac de la Motte Fenelon*, as I am humbly of Opinion it would be to find that of *Mentor* in the Honourable WILLIAM PULTENEY, Esq; should *Great Britain*, in our Days, be cursed with a *Protefilaus*.

I conclude this Dedication with a hearty Wish, that, for the Good of Mankind in general, all evil Ministers of State, of what Nation soever, may very speedily be made publick Examples, to terrify their Successors from copying their Villainies. There is not any thing, I assure you, Sir, that could rejoice me so much, except that of seeing *Great Britain* effectually secured from the latent Designs of some of her pretended Friends. Were I allow'd the Liberty of an *English* Press, that I might speak freely to my Country, without Interruption or Danger to my self abroad, or at least to the Printer at Home, I believe I could plainly shew how much those latent Designs may affect her Commerce, and how necessary it is for her to be put upon her Guard against them. But you must not expect any private Advice of this Nature from me; you know that I have very little Reason to believe you to be my Friend, and much less to put my self into your Power, by entering into any secret Correspondence with you, upon any Account or Pretence whatsoever. What I have to say must be publick; and if you generously afford me the Means to explain myself in that manner, I shall think myself obliged, for the future, to be, by way of Acknowledgment, *S I R*,

August 8. 6 MA 50 Your most Humble Servant,

1739.

C. H. FORMAN.

A



PARAPHRASE

ON Part of the TENTH BOOK of

TELEMACHUS.

MENTOR's Advice has all the good Effects on *Idomeneus* and his discontented Kingdom that could possibly be expected from the perplex'd Situation in which he found the publick Affairs at his Arrival. The King had his Eyes open'd, at last, to the Danger into which this crafty, insolent Minister had led him, The People are joyfully surprized with a Change as sudden as it was unhop'd for, in that Condition which had been so grievous to them for so many Years; and, but a few Days before, was thought to be incurable. Trade lifts up her long dejected, drooping Head, and begins to flourish again in the City, while Agriculture smiles, and adorns the Country. The Manufacturer and Artificer now see their Hands once again full of Business, and find that Employment which they so lately despaired of: The Farmer toils and sweats no more to raise Supplies out of the Bowels of the Earth, for that heavy Land-Tax with which the Minister had so long burthen'd the Nobility and Gentry; he now labours for himself and his Family: The Merchant transports abroad the Surplus of that Abundance which cannot be consumed at Home, and, by his profitable Returns, enriches both City and Country: Those Bands of *Street-Robbers*, and Swarms of miserable Objects which had so long infested *Salentum*, to the Disgrace of the Nation, and Surprize of all *Europe*, disappear entirely; *The Cause being removed, the Effect ceases*: Plenty, Ease, and Satisfaction, are seen in every Face, and the happy *Salentines* now become the Envy, as they had been, but too long before, the Prey of some transmarine States, their pretended Friends and Allies.

Those States had all along professed a more than ordinary Friendship for *Idomeneus* and his Family, in particular, tho' their ancient

ancient hereditary Aversion and Ingratitude to the *Cretans* in general had been but too notorious upon numberless Occasions. They pretended a warm and very uncommon Concern for the Safety of his new Settlement, and, under that specious Bait, had taken Advantage of the Perplexity of his Affairs, as well as of the corrupt Administration of his Minister, who was entirely their Creature: They had, partly by the Ignorance, but much more by the Connivance of that wicked Agent of theirs, insensibly engrossed to themselves the most valuable Branches of the Trade of *Salentum*, and laid deep Designs against the few that were left. After so much Success, and such promising Views still in Reserve, they begin to be alarmed at the Progress of *Mentor*; they look upon him with an evil Eye, as the only Obstacle to their future Hopes of further *Encroachments*; they use their utmost Efforts to destroy him, in order to preserve and support the Man who is daily rendering them such important Services, and sacrificing his Country to the Bribes they send him.

But *Idomeneus*, as if awaken'd out of a Dream, or rather miraculously recover'd from a Lethargy, looks with Indignation upon that Slavery in which Flatterers and *Sycophants* had so long kept him; become wise, by *Mentor's* good Instructions and Advice, he makes serious and useful Reflections upon the unhappy Condition into which his perfidious Minister had insnared him. He views with Terror and Amazement the dangerous Precipice upon which he stood, and sees with Agony how near he was losing the Hearts of his People. He now finds that those Men, in whom he solely confided, had, upon all Occasions, industriously conceal'd the Truth from him, and let him know no more of his own Affairs than what they knew how to apply to their own Interest, and make necessary for the carrying on their mercenary Designs. But this malignant Cloud being thus happily dispers'd by *Mentor's* Wisdom and Courage, *Idomeneus* begins to think, to speak, to act like a King, who glories in being called the Father of his People. He looks with Ecstasy and Gratitude upon his generous Deliverer, he clasps him in his Arms, he embraces him, he presses him close to his Breast: How much am I indebted to the Gods! (cries he) for sending so wise, so sincere, so intrepid a Friend to my Relief! Yes, my dear *Mentor*, you have broke thro' a Crowd of Difficulties to come at me, and snatch me out of the Hands of these domestick Enemies, who had so long besieged me, and kept me their Prisoner; you have opened my Eyes to those Errors and Illusions in which I was, in a manner, quite buried; you shew me things as they really are; and I am forced to acknowledge with Shame, Confusion and Remorse, that evil Counsel has been the Cause of all the Misfortunes of my Life, and the Miseries of my People. But what do I say! No, I, my self have rather been the Cause of them, in suffering the audacious Wretch that gave it, to impose upon

upon me so long, in letting him abuse that Reason and Understanding which the Gods had given me for the Government of my People. Hear then, O *Mentor*, my melancholly History; you will find it a clear Demonstration of the Truth of your own Maxims; it will afford you an ample, but frightful View of the Condition of those Kings, who supinely let their Ministers become their Masters; who heap Favours and Benefits upon the Wicked, to the universal Dissatisfaction and Disgust of the Good.

PROTESILAUS has the Advantage of me in Years. Of all my Court he was the Person whom I thought fittest for my Service; for tho' he is naturally proud, shameless and insolent, yet it was for those very Qualities that I took a Liking to him; I mistook them for Courage, Innocence, and Greatness of Soul. He thoroughly studied my Inclinations; he used all imaginable Arts to make himself agreeable to me; he gave into all my Pleasures, to which his Genius was ever fertile in making Additions, and inventing such as I never thought of before. He flattered my Passions, and pushed the Gratification of them to the highest Pitch. Honest, virtuous, and learned Men he banished from my Court, and filled the City with Buffoons, Dancers, Players, Singers, and Musick-Girls, from all the Parts of *Europe* most celebrated for Lewdness. He promoted Luxury, and endeavoured to encourage it by his own Example, purposely to debauch the Nobility, first into Extravagance, and then into Poverty, that they might become his Pensioners and Dependants. He industriously kept me involved in perpetual Quarrels and Misunderstandings with Princes, whose Friendship and Alliance was absolutely necessary for my true Interest: but alas! I did not understand it, or rather did not suffer my self to look into it. Under the Pretext of supporting these Quarrels of his own making, vast Sums were raised upon my People, and a great Part of them imbezzled, and applied to his own particular Use, under the Notion of SECRET SERVICES; by these and the like Methods, he is become rich, and has raised his Family and Relations from mean obscure Circumstances, to overtop the ancient Nobility and Gentry of my Kingdom. He has also Brothers almost as rich, and full as insolent as himself. He harrassed my Subjects every Year with exorbitant and unnecessary TAXES; and as often as he was called upon to give an Account of the publick Treasure, those pretended Secret Services frequently served him for a Subterfuge; where they did not, *he made a Property of my Clemency and Confidence to vouch for, and screen him.* Several foreign Princes received considerable yearly Sums, upon Pretence of having a certain Number of Troops in Readiness for my Service, which I never was likely to have Occasion to employ. Thus, while he burthen'd my People with those *Royal Pensioners*, he was himself a Pensioner to them, by way of Gratification, and aggrandized himself by all the unlawful Methods

he could think of, upon the Blood and Vitals of the Publick: In the mean time, I shared very little more of the Spoil with him, than the Murmurs of my Subjects.

That he might rule, or rather reign without a Rival, he very artfully made me begin to suspect a Nobleman of my Court; for whom I had also a very great Friendship. *Philocles* (for that was his Name) was as remarkable for his Courage, as his other extraordinary Virtues; he had a noble and generous Soul, was courteous in his Behaviour, and moderate in his Desires; he fear'd the Gods, and plac'd true Greatness, not in gaping after Titles, and grasping at Riches, but in subduing his Passions, and avoiding every thing that was base and unworthy of an honest Man. He spoke freely to me of my Faults; and when he durst not speak to me, his Silence and melancholly Air sufficiently explained what he had a Mind to reproach me with. I was extremely pleased with this Sincerity in the Beginning, and I often protested and promised that I would hear him with Confidence and Approbation, as long as I lived. I had been happy, *Mentor*, had I kept my Word, and followed his Advice. He shewed me what I ought to do, and how I ought to reign, if I had a Mind to tread in the Steps of my Great Grandfather *Minos*, and become the Delight of my People, by making them happy. He had a profound Wisdom, and a consummate Experience of Men and Things, his Maxims were wise and just, his Counsel friendly and faithful; and this is a Truth which I am every Day more and more convinced of. *Protesilaus* is the very Reverse of *Philocles*; for, besides his natural Pride and Insolence, he has such a Complication of opposite Vices, as I have never yet met with in any other Man. He is as much hated for his Ambition, as despised for his Cowardise; he is jealous of every one but the Person whom he ought most to be jealous of; he is as scandalously mercenary and avaritious, as profusely prodigal and extravagant: He is, in his Nature, the meanest, poorest thing in my Kingdom, and has the Vanity to aim at being the greatest Man in it. However, with all these Vices, his Artifices entirely got the better of me at last, and I began to take a Dislike to *Philocles*. The latter, altogether unconcerned for his own Interest, let his Enemy prevail over him; he was satisfied with telling me the Truth, as often as I was disposed to hear it; like a true Friend, he sought my Good, without coveting any of my Riches, or paying Court to my Fortune.

Protesilaus persuaded me insensibly, that he was of a peevish proud Spirit; that he criticiz'd all my Actions; that he ask'd no Favours, because he was too haughty to receive any from me, and aspired to the Character of a Man that was above all Honours. He added, that if *Philocles* talk'd of my Faults with so much Freedom to my Face, he spoke of them to others with the same Liberty behind my Back; that he took all Occasions to let

let People know how little Esteem he had for me; and that in thus lessening my Reputation, he endeavoured to raise the Value of his own. I could not give entirely into the Sentiments of *Protesilaus*, nor swallow, at once, all the Poison he had prepar'd for me. True Virtue carries a Candour and Ingenuity with it, which cannot be counterfeited, and in which we cannot be deceived, when we look upon it with Attention. Nevertheless, I began to grow heartily tired of the Sincerity and Firmness with which *Philocles* daily laid my Weaknesses before me. The Complacency of *Protesilaus*, and his inexhaustible Industry, in inventing new Amusements to divert me, made me relish with less Patience the Austerity of the other. But *Protesilaus* did not think this Victory sufficient; he rather look'd upon himself to be, in some measure, defeated, because I did not absolutely believe every thing he said against his Enemy; he therefore took a Resolution to speak to me no more in that Strain, but rather to persuade me by something much stronger than all his Words.

Behold, *Mentor*, to what Lengths a knavish Minister is capable of carrying his Villainy, when he has a Design, either to ruin his Master, or make him entirely his Ward. Behold the Method which *Protesilaus* took to gain his Point, to destroy *Philocles*, and to deceive me compleatly. He advised me to give *Philocles* the Command of the Fleet that was designed against the *Carpathians*. The better to persuade me to it, You know, says he, that I cannot be suspected either of Flattery or Friendship in the Praises I give him. I confess that he has Courage, and a Genius for War. He will serve you in that Command better than any body I know, and I shall always prefer your Interest and Service before the Gratification of my own Resentments. I was charmed to find such Virtue and Justice in the Soul of *Protesilaus*, to whom I had entirely abandon'd the Administration of my Affairs. I embrac'd him in a Transport of Joy, and I thought my self but too happy, in having placed my Confidence in a Man so much above all private Passion and Self-Interest. But alas! how unfortunate are Princes, and how much to be pitied! This perfidious Man knew me better than I knew my self. He knew that Kings are commonly diffident, and Enemies to the Toil of publick Affairs; that they are mistrustful thro' the daily Experience they have of the Artifices of those corrupt Men, who continually surround them; that they are slothful, and Enemies to Business, because they are led away by their Pleasures, and are used to have other Men think for them, without being at the Pains to think for themselves. He understood very well, how easy a Matter it would be to make me suspicious and jealous of a Man who, he knew, would not fail to perform great Actions, especially since his Absence would give him all the Opportunities he could wish for, to lay Snares for him. *Philocles* foresaw, at Parting, all that was likely to happen. Remember,

says he to me, that it will not be in my Power to defend my self, when I have no Advocate near you, and you will listen to none but my Enemy; remember, that, for serving you at the Hazard of my Life, I shall probably receive no other Recompence but your Indignation at my Return. You are mistaken, *Philocles*, says I, *Protesilaus* speaks more generously of you than you do of him; he praises you, he esteems you, he thinks you worthy of the greatest Trusts, and the most important Employments. Should he begin to speak against you, that very Moment loses him my Favour and Confidence for ever. Fear nothing, go, *Philocles*, and think but how to serve me well. He obeyed, he set Sail, and left me in a very strange Situation.

I must confess, that I saw how necessary it was to have several Men of Virtue and Experience to consult and advise with; I saw, that nothing was so destructive, either to my Reputation, or the Success of my Affairs, as to deliver my self blindly up to the Management of one Man. I had experienced, upon several Occasions, that the prudent Counsels of *Philocles* had saved me from falling into many dangerous Errors, into which the Insolence and Rashness of *Protesilaus* would have precipitated me. I found that *Philocles* had a Fund of Probity and just Maxims, which I could not meet with in his Enemy; but I had insensibly suffer'd *Protesilaus* to assume a domineering decisive Air, upon all Occasions, which I was hardly afterwards Master enough to oppose. I was quite tired with being continually betwixt two Men, whose Humours and Principles I found it absolutely impossible to reconcile. Under this Uneasiness, I fatally, thro' Weakness and Indolence, chose to purchase what I thought my Liberty, at the Expence of my Honour and Interest. I durst not own, even to my self, so shameful a Reason for the Choice I had made; but that very shameful Reason, which I durst not confess, tyrannized secretly in the Bottom of my Heart; it was the true Motive to what I had just done, and the Mistake I fell into, in parting with a faithful Servant.

Philocles defeated the Enemy; he gained a compleat Victory, and was making haste home to prevent those ill Offices which he feared would be done him in his Absence. But *Protesilaus*, who had not yet had time enough to deceive me entirely, writ to him that I would have a Descent made on the Island of *Carpashia*, that some Advantage might be made of the Victory he had gained. *Protesilaus* indeed flatter'd me with an easy Conquest of that Island, but managed Matters so, that *Philocles* wanted every thing necessary for carrying on the Enterprize, and daily sent such Orders and Instructions, as caused several Disappointments in the Execution.

In the mean time, he made use of a Servant I had about me, a very corrupt Fellow, and a fit Instrument for his Designs. This Fellow observed every thing that passed, even to the minutest Circum-

Circumstances, and gave *Protesilaus* an Account of it. This Domestic, named *Timocrates*, came one Day to tell me a great Secret he had to discover in an Affair of a dangerous Nature. *Philocles*, says he, intends to employ your Army and Fleet, to make himself King of *Carpathia*: The Generals are all devoted to him; the Soldiers are entirely corrupted by the Largeesses he distributes among-them, and the pernicious Liberty in which he lets them live: He is also puffed up with his Victory. Here is a Letter from him to one of his Friends, upon his Project of making himself King: After so clear a Proof, there can be no doubt of his Disloyalty and Ambition. I read that Letter, and it seem'd to me to be written by *Philocles*; his Hand was perfectly well counterfeited; *Protesilaus* and *Timocrates* were the Authors of this Forgery. That Letter threw me into a strange Surprise; I read it over and over without ceasing, and could hardly believe that it came from *Philocles*. I recalled to my troubled Mind all the convincing Proofs he had so often given me of his Disinterestedness and Fidelity: But what could I do? How could I refuse such evident Marks of Treason in a Letter, which I thought I was sure was written by *Philocles* himself? When *Timocrates* saw that I could not withstand his Artifices any longer, he pushed them home. Dare I, says he, stammering, desire you to take Notice of a particular Expression in this Letter? *Philocles* tells his Friend, that he may speak with Confidence to *Protesilaus* about an Affair which he only sets down in Cyphers: Surely *Protesilaus* has entered into Measures with *Philocles*. It is *Protesilaus* that pressed you to send him against the *Carpathians*; he has not spoken to you against him for some considerable time, as he used to do formerly: On the contrary, he praises him; he magnifies his Conduct upon all Occasions; and, before *Philocles* set Sail, they used to see one another with Civility enough: Without doubt, *Protesilaus* has come to an Agreement with *Philocles*, to divide the Island of *Carpathia* between them. You see your self, that he was bent upon this Enterprize, contrary to all the Rules of Policy and War, and exposes your Army and Fleet to the utmost Perils and Difficulties, to gratify his own Ambition. Do you believe that he would contribute thus to advance the Interest of *Philocles*, if they were in ill Terms together? No! no! you need not doubt any longer, that these two Men have made up their Quarrel, and united themselves, not only to take Possession of that Throne, but even to deprive you of this which you now sit on. I know that I expose myself to your Resentments, in speaking thus freely to you, if, notwithstanding my sincere Advice, you still leave your Authority in their Hands; but so matter what becomes of me, provided I tell you the Truth.

These last Words of *Timocrates* made a deep Impression upon me; I doubted no longer of the Treason of *Philocles*, and mistrusted *Protesilaus* as his Confederate. In the mean time, *Tim-*

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crates was perpetually saying to me, if you wait until *Philocles* has conquered the Island of *Carpathia*, it will be too late to prevent his Designs: Make Haste to secure him, while you have the Means in your Power. I look'd with Horror upon the profound Dissimulation of Mankind; I knew not in whom to confide, after having discovered so much Treason in *Philocles*. I saw not a Man upon Earth in whose Virtue I could place any Trust for the future. I was resolved to cause that Traitor to be dispatch'd, but I stood in Fear of *Protesilaus*, and did not know how to manage, in regard to him: I fear'd to find him guilty, and fear'd also to trust him. In short, in the Trouble I was in, I could not forbear telling him, that I began to suspect *Philocles*. He seem'd surpriz'd at it; he represented to me the Justice and Moderation with which he behaved himself: He magnified his Services: In a Word, he did all that lay in his Power to persuade me that they had too good an Understanding together. On the other Hand, *Timocrates* never lost a Moment to make me take Notice of that Understanding, in order to push me on to the Destruction of *Philocles*, while I was yet Master of him. See, my dear Mentor, how unfortunate are Kings; how expos'd they are to be the Sport and Game of other Men, even while they seem to lie trembling at their Feet. I thought to act a Piece of profound Policy, and disconcert *Protesilaus* entirely, by secretly dispatching away *Timocrates* to the Army, with Orders to kill *Philocles*. *Protesilaus*, in the mean time, pushed his Dissimulation to the highest Pitch, and deceived me the more effectually, by how much the more naturally he appeared to impose upon, and deceive himself.

Timocrates set out immediately, and found *Philocles* embarrassed enough in the Descent he had made. He wanted every thing; for *Protesilaus*, not knowing whether the Letter would have Effect enough to make me destroy his Enemy, was resolved to have other Means ready. He knew that the Miscarriage of an Enterprize, of which he had gizen me such Hopes, could not fail to irritate me against *Philocles*. That faithful Servant carried on the War with Advantage; the Difficulties he labour'd under were more than balanced by his personal Courage, Genius, Conduct, and the Love the Troops had for him. The whole Army were sensible that this Descent was rash, and might prove fatal to the *Cretans*; yet every Man as earnestly endeavour'd to perform his Part, as if his own Life and Honour depended upon the Success. Every one was ready to expose himself, upon all Occasions, under a Chief so experienc'd in War, and so careful to gain the Affections of his Soldiers. *Timocrates* had every thing to fear, in attempting the Life of a General in the midst of an Army that lov'd him so passionately: But furious Ambition is always blind. He found nothing difficult that could please *Protesilaus*, with whom he expected to govern absolutely after the
Death

Death of Philocles. *Protesilaus* had an Averſion to good Men; the very Sight of them ſecretly reproached him with his own Crimes; he was apprehenſive that they might, ſome Time or other, open my Eyes, and quite overturn all his Projects.

As ſoon as *Timocrates* arrived in the Army, he made ſure of two Captains, who were always about *Philocles*; he promiſed them great Rewards in my Name, and, at laſt, told *Philocles*, that he came, by my Order, upon a ſecret and important Affair, which he could not communicate to him but in the Preſence of theſe two Officers. *Philocles* immediately ſhut himſelf up with them, in his Cloſet. As ſoon as they were there, *Timocrates* ſtabb'd him with a Dagger, which he had concealed for that Purpoſe; the Blow proved ſlanting, and the Wound but ſlight. *Philocles*, without the leaſt Surprize, wrung the Dagger out of his Hand, and made uſe of it againſt him and the other two: In the mean time he called out for Help; a Crowd of Friends ran to his Aſſiſtance; they forced open the Door; they diſengaged *Philocles* from the Hands of thoſe three Men, who being in Confuſion, had attacked him but faintly. They were all ſeized, and upon the Point of being cut in Pieces, ſo great was the Indignation of the Army, if *Philocles* had not ſtopp'd the Rage of the Soldiers. He then took *Timocrates* aſide, and with great Sweetneſs of Temper, asked him who it was that put him upon ſo black an Action: *Timocrates*, afraid of being put to Death, haſtily produced the written Order I had given him to kill *Philocles*; and, as Traytors are always cowardly in time of Danger, he immediately diſcovers the whole Treachery of *Protesilaus*, as a Means to ſave his own Life. *Philocles*, ſtruck with Horror to ſee ſo much Malice in Mankind, took a Reſolution full of Temper and Moderation: He declared to all the Army, that *Timocrates* was innocent: He put him in a Place of Safety, and ſent him back to *Crete*. He gave up the Care of the Army to *Polimenes*, whom I had appointed in the Order, written with my own Hand, to command, as ſoon as *Timocrates* ſhould have killed *Philocles*. He then exhorted the Troops to continue in the Duty and Fidelity they owed me, and embarked, by Night, on board a ſmall Veſſel, which carried him to the Iſle of *Samos*, where he leads a quiet, ſolitary Life, not enduring to hear Mention made of deceitful and unjuſt Men, but eſpecially of Kings, whom he looks upon to be the unhappieſt and the blindeſt Part of Mankind.

Here *Mentor* interrupted *Idomeneus*: How? ſaid he? were you any conſiderable Time before you diſcover'd the Truth? No, anſwer'd *Idomeneus*, I began, by little and little, to ſee into the Artiſices of *Protesilaus* and *Timocrates*: They began to wrangle among themſelves, for wicked Men can ſeldom continue long in a thorough good Underſtanding together: Their Diſcord fully ſhewed me the dreadful Abyſs into which they had precipitated me.

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But, replied *Mentor*, did you not resolve to free yourself from both of them? Alas! my dear *Mentor*, said the King, are you ignorant of the Weakness and Perplexity of Princes? when they have once surrendered themselves up to those who have found out the Secret to make themselves necessary, they must not hope any more for Liberty. They are forced to heap Favours where they have greater Inclination, and much more Reason to inflict Punishments, and are obliged to treat those Men best, whom in their Hearts, they hate and despise most. I look'd upon *Protesilaus* with the utmost Horror and Aversion, and yet I left all my Authority in his Hands. I could not tell what to do. He had involved me in so many *State Difficulties* and *foreign Treaties and Engagements*, that I thought I could not extricate my self out of them, or work the Machine without him. Strange Illusion! I was glad to find out his Wickedness, but yet I had not Resolution enough to resume that Authority which I had so unaccountably abandoned to him. Besides, I found him complaisant, obsequious, and industrious to flatter my Passions, when he had any Point to gain upon me; and at all Times, seemingly, zealous for my Interest. In short, I had one Reason to excuse my Weakness, which was, that I did not know how to distinguish true Virtue. For want of knowing how to make Choice of good Men to manage my Affairs, I thought there were none to be found upon the whole Earth, and that Probity was but a meer Phantom. To what Purpose, said I, should I rescue my self out of the Hands of one publick, notorious Knave, to fall, perhaps, into the Hands of another, who, probably, may not prove more sincere or disinterested than he is?

In the mean time, *Polimenes* brought home the Fleet; I thought no more of the Conquest of *Carpathia*, and *Protesilaus* could not dissemble so profoundly, but that I saw how much he was disturbed to hear that *Philocles* was in Safety at *Samos*.

Mentor interrupted *Idomeneus* again, to ask him if, after the Knowledge of so black a Treachery, he had continued to trust *Protesilaus* with his Affairs. I was, answer'd *Idomeneus*, too great an Enemy to Business and the Fatigue of it, to be able to draw my self out of his Hands; I must have quite overturned the Order I had established for the Pursuit of my Pleasures, and Indulgence of my Ease, and been at the Fatigue of instructing a new Minister. This is what I never had Resolution enough to undertake, but chose rather to seem blind to the Artifices and Villainy of *Protesilaus*. The only Consolation I had was, at some certain Times, to let a few Persons, in whom I had some Confidence, know that I was not ignorant of his corrupt Practices, and want of common Honesty. Thus I fondly imagined, that I was but half deceived, because I knew that I was deceived. I also now and then gave *Protesilaus* to understand, that I wore his Chains with Impatience. I likewise often took a Pleasure

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in contradicting him in Publick, in blaming something that he had done, and in deciding contrary to his Sentiments: But as he perfectly knew my lazy Disposition, he did not trouble himself much about what Humour I was in; he always returned to the Charge with new Resolution, and greater Impudence. One while he was earnest and importunate; another while fawning and insinuating: If he perceived that I was piqued against him, he redoubled his Endeavours to find out new Amusements proper to soften and effeminate me; but if that failed, then he had Recourse to his old Stratagem, to embark me in some difficult Affair, or to engage me in some disadvantageous dishonourable Treaty, in order to conjure up the Resentments and Contempt of my Subjects against me, to make his Zeal and Service the more necessary. Tho' I began to be upon my Guard against him, his Manner of flattering my Passions always led me which way he pleased. He was Master of my Secrets, he consoled and encouraged me in my Difficulties; he made all my Subjects tremble by my Authority; and chose a *Set of Judges* to his own Mind, to interpret the Laws as he pleased, and be the Tools of his Tyranny. In short, I could not think of destroying him, tho', by keeping him in Power, I saw that I put all the honest virtuous Men in my Kingdom out of a Condition either to serve me, or even represent my own Interest to me, and warn me against his hidden Designs. From that very Moment, one free Word was never heard more at the Council-Table. If any body attempted to write or publish his Thoughts for my Service, and gave me Notice of the Danger that threatened me, he was immediately seized, imprisoned and fined. The Judges found out as many Meanings for the Law, as the Poets have done Shapes for *Proteus*. Error, which is the Fore-runner of the Fall of Kings, appeared to me to be very great in the Sacrifice I made of the generous, faithful *Philocles*, to the insatiable Cruelty, and boundless Ambition of *Protesilaus*. Even those who had all along had the most Zeal for the publick Welfare, and the greatest Respect and Concern for my Person and Interest, began to apprehend themselves in Danger of being made the next Sacrifice; after so fatal an Example, they thought themselves dispensed with from the Obligations of Duty to undeceive me. Nay, I myself, my dear *Mentor*, was afraid, that Truth would, at last, break thro' this Cloud of Dissimulation, Lyes, and Flatteries that cover'd me, and force its way to me, in spite of all Opposition; for having no longer any Power to follow her, her Light became troublesome and impertinent. Tho' I found in my self, that she daily haunted me with very stinging Remorses, yet I could not shake off my Fetters, nor deliver my self out of that fatal Bondage in which *Protesilaus* had enslaved me. My Softness and Effeminacy, joined to the Ascendant which this impudent Favourite had assumed over me, threw me into a sort of Despair of ever being a

Freeman again. I would neither see my contemptible wretched Condition my self, nor would I let it be seen by others. You know, my dear *Mentor*, the vain Greatness, and false Glory in which Princes are generally educated; they will never be in the wrong. To hide one Fault they commit a Thousand; rather than acknowledge that they have been deceived or misled; rather than resume something of their own natural Courage, and take a little Pains to come out of their Error, and rescue themselves out of the Hands of their Goaler-Ministers, they chuse to suffer themselves to be imposed upon and deceived as long as they live. This is the Condition of weak, indolent, inactive Princes, and it was precisely mine.

When I was obliged to go to the Siege of *Troy*, I left *Protesilaus* Master of all my Affairs. He managed them in my Absence with Haughtiness and Inhumanity; all the Kingdom of *Creta* groaned under his Tyranny, but no body durst let me know the Oppression of my People. My Aversion, or rather Fear, to bear the Truth, was but too well known, to even my meanest Subjects, as well as my ill Policy, in abandoning all those to the Fury and Cruelty of *Protesilaus*, who had at any time Courage and Zeal enough for my Service, to speak to me of his Corruptions and Crimes. The more crying and violent the Evil was, the less Noise the People durst make about it. He constrained me drive away the valiant *Mariones*, who had served me with so much Glory and Fidelity in the Siege of *Troy*. After my Return, he became jealous of him, and also of every Man for whom I had any Affection or Regard, or who shewed any Sentiment of Virtue or Honour. You must know, my dear *Mentor*, that all my Misfortunes have proceeded from thence. It was not so much the Death of my Son that caused the Revolt of the *Cretans*, as the Vengeance of the Gods, irritated against me for my Weakness, and the Hatred of my People, which *Protesilaus* had drawn upon me by his corrupt and tyrannical Administration. When I spilt the Blood of my Son, the *Cretans*, grown weary of a rigorous violent Government, had quite exhausted their Patience, and the Horror of this last Action served only to give Liberty and Scope to that Resentment, which had lain so long smothering in the Bottom of their Hearts. *Timocrates* followed me to the Siege of *Troy*, and secretly sent an Account, by Letters to *Protesilaus*, of every thing he could discover. I very sensibly found that I was in Bondage; but, thro' Despair of finding a Remedy, I strove not to think of it. When the *Cretans* revolted upon my Arrival, *Protesilaus* and *Timocrates* were the first that fled away; without doubt they would have abandon'd me quite, if I had not been forc'd to fly almost as soon as they. Depend upon it, dear *Mentor*, that Men who are insolent in Prosperity, are always contemptibly mean-spirited in Adversity. Their Heads turn when Fortune frowns upon them; as soon as absolute Authority

thority begins to leave them, they grow as faint-hearted and cringing as they were just before proud and insolent: The whole Man is changed in them, by the Change of their Condition, and it is in that Moment that they fall from one Extream into another.

But, said *Mentor* to *Idomeneus*, how comes it that, knowing these two wicked Fellows so thoroughly, you still continue them in Power and Trust, as I see you do. I am not at all surprized that they followed you, since they could not do any thing better for their own Interest: I allow also, that you have done a generous, tho' not a politick Action, in granting them an Azyle in your new Kingdom; but why do you still deliver your self up to them, after so many convincing Tryals of their Perfidiousness?

You know not, answered *Idomeneus*, how useless all Tryals are to Princes, who live without Reflection: They are dissatisfied with every thing, and yet have not the Courage to redress any thing: So many Years Habitude was like Chains of Iron, that fetter'd me to these two Miscreants, and they made themselves Masters of me every Moment. Since my Arrival in these new Dominions, they have hurried me into all those excessive Expences which you have partly seen, and heard my Subjects so loudly complain of. They have exhausted my Kingdom, and drained my People of their Wealth. They have prepared every thing for bringing upon me greater Misfortunes at *Salentum*, than I ever met with in *Crete*; and I should, no doubt, have been now pretty near feeling the last Effects of their Management, had you not opened my Eyes. Yes, my dear *Mentor*, you have laid before me the Errors of my Conduct, you have shewn me the Sufferings of my People; you have let me see the Dangers to which those Men are perpetually exposing me; you have inspired me with the Courage which I have hitherto wanted, to throw off my Fetters, and free my self out of Slavery. I don't know what you have done to me; but since you have begun to take *Protesilaus* to Task, and expose his Malversations to the People, you have made me quite another Man; you have made me desirous of what can only make me truly Great or Happy, the Love of my Subjects.

Mentor continued to ask *Idomeneus* concerning the Conduct of *Protesilaus* in this new Scene of Affairs. Nothing, says the King, can be more artful than his Behaviour since your Appearance here. He immediately had Recourse to every thing that he thought might indirectly fill my Head with Jealousy, and render you suspected. At first, he said nothing against you himself, but several Men whom he underhand employed, were perpetually endeavouring to alarm me with their pretended Apprehensions. One Day, they very seriously desired me to be upon my Guard against you; and not to listen to the new Regulations you proposed,

posed. Your Kingdom, said they, is very unsettled, and discontented; and the least Commotion in the People may overturn the State, if you are left alone to oppose their Fury. It is true, we cannot justify the Conduct of *Protesilaus* in every respect; nay, we will allow, that perhaps things had been much better, if he had never been employed; but, as the Case now stands, it is dangerous to provoke him. He is immensely rich; he is sensible that the best Men in the Nation hate him, but still he has a strong Party amongst the worst; his Money secures him a great many Dependants, and will purchase him a great many more in time of Need; *he will look upon his Disgrace to be but the Prelude to his Execution; and to prevent it, he will leave nothing unattempted, to bring in foreign Powers to dethrone you, when he finds you resolved to abandon him.* These are things which ought to employ your Consideration. The Murmurs of the People, without other Support, are but mere Sounds; you must now despise them, and depend on your Minister; you must give your Subjects hearty Cause of Complaint, when you see them inclin'd to be mutinous. In such Cases there is no Medium to be chosen; either the Prince or the People must become absolute, and there is no Man fitter to make you so than *Protesilaus*. Had he no other Motives to engage him to it, his own Preservation will oblige him to do so. After this Preface, *Protesilaus* strove to give me a Prospect of the Danger of those Measures which you put me upon, to reform the Abuses he had introduced into every Article of my Affairs. He took me on the weak Side, and attacked me by my own proper Interest. *If you put the People in a plentiful Condition, says he, they will not work any longer, they will become haughty, stubborn, and intractable; they will always be ready to revolt. There is no way so effectual to make them humble and submissive, as to keep them in Poverty and Misery.* Sometimes he endeavour'd to resume his usual Authority to draw me into his Sentiments, and cover his Insolence with a Pretence of Zeal for my Service. *In easing the People of their Taxes and Grievances, continues he, you will weaken the Royal Prerogative, and by that very means you do an irreparable Damage to the People themselves. It is necessary to keep them low and poor, for their own proper Safety and Quiet.*

I answer'd to all this, that I was resolv'd, for the future, to try other Expedients, and see if I could keep my Subjects in their Duty, by making my self beloved by them, which I thought could never be done by *Standing Armies, and dishonourable expensive foreign Alliances*: That the Method I would take to gain their Love, should be, to ease them of their Taxes, and redress their Grievances, which I was sensible I might do, without abating any thing of my own Authority; that I would encourage Industry, protect Trade from Encroachers and Interlopers, and shew my self sensibly affected by every thing that affected my People. How! said I, cannot a King keep his Subjects within
the

the Limits of Obedience, without turning Tyrant, and starving them to Death! What Inhumanity does not this Maxim contain! What brutish, what barbarous Policy, to treat loyal Subjects and a free-born People in such a Manner! How many Nations about us, do we see treated with Humanity and Tenderness by their Princes, and yet continue dutiful Subjects! Must the *Cretans*, who formerly enjoyed the greatest Liberty of any People in *Europe*, be now the only Slaves in it! What causes Murmurs, Revolts and Rebellions in a State? It is the Ambition, the Insolence, the Rapaciousness of a Minister, and the mercenary Grandees who prostitute their Honour, and become the Tools of his Designs, when the Prince gives too great a Liberty to their Rapine and Oppression; It is the Multitude of upstart Gentry, and new-made Nobility, whose *Luxury is fed by a Pension-giving Minister, out of the Labour and Sweat of the People*: It is the too great Number of Red-Coats, who, like lazy Drones, invade the Hives, and cram themselves with the Labours of the painful Bees: In short, it is the Rage, the Despair of an abused People: It is the Hard-heartedness of a Prince in being insensible of their Sufferings, and deaf to their Cries: It is his insatuated Partiality to a Mushroom of his own raising, and his Obstinacy in protecting a plundering Minister. These are the Causes that have often forced the loyalest and best of Subjects to have Recourse to the last and most violent of all Means, for Relief: These are the Causes that have often alter'd the Succession of Princes, that have deposed and banished old Families, that have introduced and established new ones, and then turn'd them out also; that have made Changes and Revolutions very frequent, where they would hardly have ever been heard of, if Princes had listened more to the general Sense of the People, than the wicked Opinions and Advices of their Ministers. These, I say, are the true and only Sources of Treasons, Rebellions and Regicides, and not that Bread which we let the industrious, patient Labourer eat, with his Family, in Peace and Quiet, after he has earned it with the Sweat of his Brow.

When *Protesilaus* saw that I was immoveably fixed in these Maxims, he took a Method with me, quite contrary to his former Conduct. He began to follow those Maxims which he could not any longer destroy; he seemed to relish them, to be convinced of the Truth and Justice of them, to be obliged to me for having opened his Eyes to such important and necessary Points of Government: He, even now, out-strips me in every thing that I wish for the Ease and Relief of the Poor; he is the first to represent their Necessities to me, and to cry out against excessive and idle Expences. You also know that he praises you, and allows that you have Talents. As to *Timocrates*, he is not any longer in good Terms with *Protesilaus*; he thought to make himself independant; *Protesilaus* grew jealous of him, and it is partly

partly owing to their Difference that I owe the Discovery of both their Perfidiousness.

Mentor, smiling, answered thus to *Idomeneus*. How then! you have been weak enough to suffer yourself to be tyrannized over, and insulted so many Years, by two Men, whose Villainy and Treachery you are so well acquainted with? Ah! you little know, answer'd *Idomeneus*, what artful Men can do with an easy, flexible King, when he has delivered his Affairs into their Hands, and made them Masters of his Inclinations and his Secrets. Moreover, I have already told you, that *Protesilaus* enters now into all your Views for the publick Good.

Mentor then took up the Discourse thus, with a grave and solemn Air. I see but too well how much perfidious Men prevail over the virtuous and just in the Esteem and Favour of Kings, of which you are a most terrible and melancholly Example. You say I have opened your Eyes, and given you a full View of the deformed, corrupt Soul of *Protesilaus*, and yet they are still shut, in leaving the Government of your Kingdom in the Hands of that Man, whom, you, yourself, have pronounced worthy of the Gallows. Disabuse yourself, *Idomeneus*, and know that wicked Men are not always incapable of doing Good: They do it cheerfully as they do Evil, when it serves their Ambition: It costs them no Pains to do Evil, because they are not restrained by any one Sentiment of Goodness, nor any one Principle of Virtue; but they sometimes do Good, because their Corruption leads them to appear virtuous, that they may more effectually deceive the rest of Mankind. Properly speaking, they are not capable of Virtue, tho' they seem to practise it; but they are capable of adding to all the other Vices, the most horrible of Vices, that of Hypocrisy. How much soever you may be disposed to do Good, *Protesilaus* is ready to go along with you, to preserve his Authority; but if he finds you ever so little inclined to slide back, he will forget nothing that may contribute to tumble you headlong again into your former Errors, and thrust you out of the Way of Virtue and Justice, that he may give the further Scope to his own brutish, deceitful Nature. Can you live one Moment with Honour and Satisfaction, while such a Man has got the entire Possession of you, and you know that the faithful *Philocles* lives poor and dishonoured in the Isle of *Samos*? You acknowledge, O *Idomeneus*, that impudent, deceitful Men, who are present, always lead weak Princes astray; but you ought also to add, that Princes have likewise another Misfortune, altogether as great, which is, so easily to forget the Virtue and Services of a banished Man. The Multitude of Men, who continually surround Princes, is the Reason why there is not one of that Croud that ever makes any great Impression upon them; they are struck with nothing but what is present, and flatters them, all the rest is quickly worn out. But, of all things, Virtue touches them

the least, because Virtue, far from flattering them, contradicts and condemns their Weaknesses; is it then astonishing, that they are not at all amiable in the Eyes of their Subjects, since they are impatient of Contradiction and good Advice, and love nothing but their Grandeur and their Pleasures?

After *Mentor* had spoken these Words, he told *Idomenus* that he must immediately drive away *Protesilaus* and *Timocrates*, and call home *Philocles*. The only Difficulty the King found in this Advice was, the Fear he stood in of the rigid and severe Virtue of *Philocles*: I confess, said he, that, tho' I love and esteem him, I cannot but stand in some little Dread of his Return. I have been accustomed, even from my Infancy, to Praises and Flatteries, to Complacency and Earnestness in every Countenance, to please and serve me; none of which I must hope to find in this Man. When I did any thing which he did not approve of, his serious and melancholly Air gave me to understand how much he condemned me. When he used to be in private with me, his Maxims and Behaviour were respectful and moderate, but dry and reserved.

Do not you perceive, answer'd *Mentor*, that Princes, spoil'd by Flattery, find every thing dry and austere that is free and ingenuous; they become so nice, that every thing that does not flatter, wounds and irritates them. But let us go further. I suppose that *Philocles* is really dry and austere; is not his Austerity much better than the destructive Flattery of your Minister and his Junto of Counsellors? Where will you find a Man without Faults? And that of telling you the Truth, without Fear or Disguise, is it not what you ought to dread and apprehend the least? What do I say? Is it not a Fault very necessary at present to correct yours, and to overcome that Aversion to Virtue, into which Flattery has hurried you? You must have a Man that loves nothing but Truth and you, and even loves you better than you know how to love yourself; a Man that will tell you the Truth in Spite of you, that will force all your Resentments against it; and this necessary Man is *Philocles*. Remember that a Prince is but too happy, when his Reign produces a Man of such Generosity; such a Man is the greatest Treasure of his Kingdom; and the greatest Punishment he has to fear from the Gods, is the Loss of him, if he renders himself unworthy of so great a Blessing, for want of knowing how to make use of it. As to the Faults of good Men, you must have Judgment how to know them; but you must not upon that Account decline making use of such Men. Reform them, and never deliver yourself blindly up to the indiscreet Part of their Zeal: Nevertheless encourage them, hear them favourably, honour what is virtuous in them, and shew in publick, that you know how to distinguish it. Above all things, take Care not to imitate those Princes, who content themselves in despising corrupt, wicked

wicked Men, and yet at the same time employ them with Confidence, and heap Favours upon them; who also pique themselves in distinguishing good Men, and nevertheless only give them vain empty Praises; they neither dare trust them with Employments, nor enter into a familiar Acquaintance and Commerce with them, nor even bestow any Benefits upon them.

Then *Idomeneus* confess'd, that he was asham'd to have been so dilatory in delivering oppress'd Innocence, and punishing those who had so vilely deceived him, and abused the Confidence he repos'd in them. He immediately gave private Orders to *Hegesippus*, who was one of the principal Officers of his Household, to seize *Protesilaus* and *Timocrates*, and transport them to the Island of *Samos*, to leave them there, and bring back *Philoctetes* from that Place of Banishment. *Hegesippus*, surprized at these Orders, could not forbear weeping with Joy. It is now, Sire, says he to the King, that you are going to charm your Subjects, and give them some Satisfaction for all the Injuries they have received, and the Oppressions they have suffered so many Years past. It is now, indeed, that you are going to fill every honest Breast in your Kingdom with Gladness, to re-establish yourself in the Opinion of good Men, and recover that Affection of your People, which *Protesilaus* and *Timocrates* have robbed you of so long. These two Men have been the Cause of all your Misfortunes, and of all those that have fallen upon your Kingdom. They have made all the good Men of your Dominions groan for almost these ten Years past; and so great has been their Tyranny, that Men durst hardly even groan in publick. They oppress'd and ruined every one who attempted to have any Recourse to your Majesty, but by their Canal. Then *Hegesippus* discovered to the King an almost infinite Number of perfidious Correspondencies, and inhuman Actions, committed by those two Monsters in Mankind, of which the King had never heard a Syllable, because no body durst accuse them; he even related to him, what he had lately discovered of a Design to murder *Mentor*. The King heard a Relation of these things with Horror and Astonishment.

Hegesippus made Haste to seize *Protesilaus* in his Palace: It was not, indeed, quite so large as the King's, but much more convenient and magnificent. The Architecture was of a better Gusto, for *Protesilaus* had lavish'd away immense Sums upon this Building, and adorned it with an Expence drawn from the Sweat and Blood of his oppress'd, miserable Fellow-Subjects. This haughty Minister was, at that Time, in a Marble Salon, near his Baths, lolling carelessly upon a purple Couch embroider'd with Gold: He appear'd quite tired and fatigued with Business; his Countenance seem'd to be extremly agitated and disorder'd, a fierce gloomy Wildness appear'd in his Eyes and Eye-brows. The greatest Lords in the Kingdom were waiting round him, on rich Carpets

Carpets of State, and forming their Countenances after his, which they watched even to the least Glance of his Eye. He could hardly open his Mouth before every Body began to cry out with Admiration of what he was going to say. One of the principal Men, in that Crowd of Pensioners, related to him the great Obligations the King had to so consummate a Minister for the wonderful and incredible Services he had rendered him; he even push'd his Flattery and Disloyalty so far, as to tell the Company, that *Idomeneus* was indebted to *Protesilaus* for the very Crown he wore. Every one pays him Adoration, and offers Incense in his Turn. At last a Swarm of Authors appear, with their fulsome Panegyricks and Dedications: One Blockhead thanks him for the Blessings he enjoys, in common with the rest of his Fellow-Subjects, by his wise and just Administration of the publick Affairs: A second tells him, that all *Europe* looks upon him as the Model of Wit and Probity, the Father of the People, the Glory of his Country, the very Touch-Stone of Policy; whereas all *Europe*, at the same time, knows him to be a loquacious, empty, impudent Fellow, the mercenary Tool of Foreigners, the Destroyer of the Poor, the Disgrace of *Salentum*, the *Ignis fatuus* of *Idomeneus*, and the greatest Blunderer in Politicks that ever presumed to sit at the Helm of publick Affairs. A third draws him with a *Horn* of Plenty, profusely distributing among his Fellow-Subjects, all the Gifts of *Ceres*, *Vertumnus*, *Pomona*, and *Bacchus*, but takes no Notice of the Distress the *Salentines* were in a Year or two before, thro' the Scarcity of Corn; he says nothing of the great Number of Poor, that dy'd the last hard Winter, for want of Bread and Firing; nor tells how many were forced to turn Thieves, in that publick Calamity, roving about the Streets every Night, knocking down People, and robbing them of their Money, to buy Bread with. These Things he passes over, and gives *Protesilaus* the *Horn*, because he thinks he has a Right to it. *Protesilaus* heard all these Praises with a dry, disdainful, regardless Air, as a Man who knew very well that he deserved much more, and did them a great deal of Honour in permitting them to praise him. There was a Courtier who took the Liberty to whisper him something concerning the Regulations which *Mentor* endeavoured to establish: *Protesilaus* smil'd, and then all the Assembly broke into a loud Laugh, tho' very few of them knew one Word of what had been said: But *Protesilaus*, immediately resuming a severe, haughty Air, every one began to secure himself again under the former submissive, silent Looks. Several Lords, who made a great Figure and Bluster among the People, were there as humble and cringing as Spaniels under the Whip; they twatched the happy Moment in which *Protesilaus* might vouchsafe to turn his Eyes towards them, and receive their Petitions; they appeared mute and embarrassed, if they had any Favour to ask; their suppliant

fawning Postures spoke for them; they were as submissive as a Mother at the Foot of the Altars, when she begs of the Gods to cure her only Son: All seem contented, pleased, devoted to, and full of Admiration of *Protesilaus*, tho' they carried an implacable and mortal Hatred to him in their Hearts.

Hegeſſippus enters in that very Moment, he ſeizes his Sword, and tells him, that he muſt convey him immediately to *Samos*. At theſe Words, all the Arrogance of *Proteſilaus* falls, like a Rock that tumbles off from the Summit of a ſteep Mountain, by the Violence of an Earthquake. Behold him now throwing himſelf at the Feet of *Hegeſſippus*; he trembles, he weeps, he hesitates, he ſtammers, he opens his wide, vociferous Jaws, but cannot utter a Word. He now embraces the Knees of a Man whom, one Moment before, he would not have vouchſafed the Honour of a Glance of his Eye. All thoſe who had but juſt been adoring him, ſeeing him loſt, beyond Redemption, now change their Flatteries into pitileſs Injuries. *Hegeſſippus* would not even allow him Time to bid his Family farewel, nor to take certain private Writings which he begg'd for. *His Palaces, his pompous Furniture and Equipages, his Plate, his Jewels, his immense Hoards of Treafure, his Lands, all were ſeized, and juſtly applied to the Diſcharge of the Debts he had brought upon the Nation.* *Timocrates* was alſo arreſted at the ſame time, at which he was exceedingly ſurprized. Being embroiled, and in ill Terms with *Proteſilaus*, he thought he could not be involved in his Ruin; but nevertheless they are both carried in the ſame Veſſel to *Samos*. *Hegeſſippus* left theſe two Wretches there, and, to complete their Wretchedneſs, he leaves them together. They reproach one another furioſly with the Crimes they had committed, which were the Cauſe of their Fall. They have no farther Hopes of ſeeing *Salentum* again, condemn'd to live for ever ſeparated from their Wives, their Children and their Country, and to experience in themſelves the Weight of thoſe Evils which they had formerly brought upon others. They were carried into an unknown Land, where they, who had lived ſo many Years in Wantonneſs, Pomp, Luxury, and Power at Home, muſt now expect no other Subſiſtence but what they can earn by hard Labour. In this Condition, like two furious wild Beaſts, they are always ready to tear each other in Pieces.

In the mean time, *Hegeſſippus*, favour'd by *Neptune*, arrives with *Philocles* at *Salentum*; the King is informed that the Ship is come into the Harbour; he runs to the Port with *Mentor*, to meet *Philocles*; he falls upon his Neck, he embraces him, he ſhews a ſenſible Concern and Regret for having perſecuted him with ſo much Injuſtice.

This Behaviour, far from appearing a Weakneſs in the King, was look'd upon by all the *Salentines* as the Effort of a great Soul, which riſes above its Faults, by courageouſly endeavouring to repair them.

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F I N I S.

A Proper



R E P L Y

To a late

Scurrilous LIBEL,

Entitled, SEDITION and DEFACTION
Display'd.

Dear S I R,



HAVE hitherto declined taking any Notice of those pretty Declamations, with which you have been lately pleased to oblige the Publick; and look'd upon them only as little Flights or Exercitations of a Genius, which had a Mind to try its Strength in Politicks. I compar'd them to the *Disputations* of Undergraduates in the University, or the *Mootings* of young Students at the *Temple*. I could not suppose that you published them with any other Design; and therefore was sorry to see you turn'd into such high Ridicule, and exposed to the Laughter of the Town. I thought it beneath any Writer, of Years and Experience, to set his Strength against a young Beginner, and was afraid it would discourage you from pursuing your Studies; but since I find Correction hath had a different Effect upon you, and made you imagine that you are really an Author of some Importance, I am inclined to give you a little grave Advice.

When you first launched forth into Print, We were somewhat at a Loss to guess what nice Hand had taken the Trouble of collecting such curious *Florilegia of Politicks* together. Some Persons assured me, that They were the Compositions of a promising young Gentleman of *Eton School*, whose Father had a little Employment under the Government, and having observed
that

that some *Boyish Writers* have lately met with great Encouragement, set his Son this Task, in order to recommend Him to Favour. The little quaint *Antitheses*, the labour'd Gingle of the Periods, the great Variety of rhetorical Flourishes, affected Metaphors, and puerile Witticisms; with which these *political Nosegays* abound, inclined me at first to believe They were gather'd in this Garden; and I had some Thoughts of employing my Nephew *Geoffry D'Anvers*, who is now in the third Form of *Westminster School*, to answer Them. But when I read the Character of *Suffolk*, as you apply'd it in your *Sequel* to our present Great *Minister*, I chang'd my Opinion; for I could not suppose that your *School-Master* would have suffer'd you to abuse his *Patron* by such an ill-judg'd *Parallel*; as a *late *Writer* against you both most cruelly demonstrated,

I was afterwards inform'd that They were the Semplar-works of a forward little *Boarding-School-Miss*; who was ambitious of becoming, one Time or other, a *Maid of Honour*; and indeed some dainty *Virgin Expressions* in those Performances (as the same *Writer* observes) rendered it far from being improbable.

But at last I was told, in great Confidence, that They were the Products of pretty *Mr. Fainlove*; but let me beg of you, *Mr. D'Anvers*, said He, not to treat the young Gentleman with too much Severity! Look at his Youth and Innocence! He is not made for such rough Encounters. O, by no Means, Sir, said I! ————What hurt *Mr. Fainlove*? ————What would the *Ladies* say? ————Nay, you know that He is a *Lady* Himself; or at least such a nice Composition of the two Sexes, that it is difficult to distinguish which is most prædominant. My Friend *Horace* hath described Him much better than I can.

*Quem si Puellarum infereres Choro,
Mirè sagaces falleret Hospites:
Discrimen obscurum, solutis
Crimibus, ambiguoque vultu.*

Ovid and *Ausonius* have likewise described such a pretty Medley of the masculine and feminine Gender in the following Verses.

*Talis erat Cultu Facies, quam dicere verè
Virineam in Puero, puerilem in Virgine posses.*

OVID.

*Dum dubitat Natura Marem, faceretne Puellam,
Factus es, O pulchre, pæne Puella, Puer.*

AUSONIUS.

But thought it would be barbarous to handle such a delicate *Hermaphrodite*, such as pretty, little, *Master-Miss*, in too rough a Manner; yet you must give me Leave, my Dear, to give you a little gentle Correction for your own Good. You have carry'd the Jest a little too far in your last performance, and talk in the Stile of a dirty *Black-guard Boy*. O fye! Master, you should never call Names in a *Declamation*, nor foul your pretty Mouth with such *paw* Words as *Traytor* and *Villain*. The Dialect of *Billingsgate* is very unbecoming a *Court-Education*, and will destroy all Pretensions to the Character of a *fine Gentleman*, which you have taken so much Pains to acquire, and which you would, I dare say, be almost as loth to lose as your *Place*, or even another *Tooth*.

You bespeak the Indulgence of the Publick to this last Excrement of Court-Scandal in a præliminary Libel, intituled, *A Dedication to the Patrons of the Craftsman*; and tell us that, the *Mode* obliges a *Writer* in this Way to draw some kind of Characters; and therefore you beg Leave (as you are a *Man of Mode*) to indulge your *Fancy* in framing such, as you may judge, perhaps, to be very masterly Pieces of Deformity; but, in my Opinion, you have over-done it, and drawn some glaring Features in full Light, which ought to have been thrown into Shade, for your own Sake. You should never talk, my Dear, of *Baseness*, *Ingratitude* and *Treachery*, because People will be apt to call some Things to Mind, which you ought to wish forgotten, and endeavour to find out a Key for your late Writings.

Neither is it prudent in you to speak, with so much Indignation, of *betraying private Correspondencies*; for though the Persons, who once *distinguish'd* you by a *peculiar Regard*, had, I dare say, more Discretion than to trust you with any *Secrets*, in the greatest Height of their Partiality towards you; yet you have given us very plain Indications how ready you would have been to *betray private Correspondencies*, if it had tended to serve any laudable Purposes of the Court, or the Interests of *Those*, in whose Cause you are now so zealously embark'd.

I cannot however forbear admiring the Sagacity of your *Patron*, in chusing such a *Papil* and *Advocate*. A Circulator of Tittle-Tattle, a Bearer of Tales, a Teller of Fibbs, a station'd Spy, even where you was admitted under the strongest Pretextes of Friendship, and under the strongest Obligations to it, is a Subject worthy of his Care, and must be capable of making great Advances in those Mysteries of political Magick, into which He hath initiated you.

Though I am an old Man, and no great Admirer of the *modern Fashions*; yet since you are pleas'd to tell us that it is the *Mode* to draw some Kind of Characters, and consider Persons rather than Things, I will, in Return, *indulge my Fancy*, for once, in framing such as may suit the Persons, who have the Honour of

Patronizing your *courtly Libels*; and be assured, Sir, that they shall be as free from *Flattery* as your own; though I shall not altogether follow the *modern Fashion*, which you have introduced, I will endeavour to to copy *Nature* and *Truth*. Let the World judge of the Likeness.

We will suppose then a Person of tolerable second-rate Parts; below a Genius; above the Vulgar; of Industry inferior to few; of Impudence superior to all Men. We will suppose him coming into the World with a low Education, mean Habits, and a narrow Fortune; an Adventurer resolv'd to rise by all the Ways, which Time and Accidents should open to him, In Parliament ever busy: at Court always assiduous; never *caref'd* by the greatest General, or the greatest Statesman of their Time; absolutely *dislik'd* by the first; and only thought to be of some little Use by the second; promoted by one, and just suffer'd by the other. Buoy'd up by the Stream of Party, and a long Series of *lucky Accidents*, both at home and abroad, this Child of Fortune rises to the first Post in the Government, with Talents scarce equal to the tenth, and Morals unworthy of the lowest. Even Guilt and Punishment prove Circumstances in his Favour; He proceeds accordingly. He corrupts, and is supported by the Corrupt. He plunders, and protects the Plunderers. The Wealth, the Strength and Honour of the Nation are made subservient to his Interest and the Interest of his Family. Vain of his Parts, indifferent as They are, and vainer of his Person, which is still infinitely worse, no Flattery is too gross for Him. A Writer, who would tell him of his Success in Amours, would gain his Favour in an higher Degree than one, who commended the Conduct of his Administration; and yet the whole World is convinced that He never gain'd either Man or Woman, but as he paid for Them. Let us view Him in another Light, making Differences in the greatest Families; first, reviling and endeavouring to distress a Father, to whom he had the greatest Obligations; then again, for his own Interest, selling and betraying the Son to the Father; valuing neither but as they serv'd his Purpose; ready to betray both, when He found it his Interest so to do. Let us survey him in the Course of a long Administration; giddy with Power; impatient of Controul, and insolent to Mankind; *base* to Those, who assisted him in Distress; *ungrateful* to Those, who were the Instruments of his Advancement; and *treacherous* to Those, who preserv'd Him from Disgrace. Let us behold Him playing the Statesman in foreign Courts, and endeavouring to pass off *Tricking* for Policy; making Treaties without any Design to observe them; and negotiating his Country out of a State of perfect Tranquillity into a State of Difficulty, Danger and Dependence. He cannot even assume the Merit of meaning well; nor plead the poor Excuse of having miscarried in the Conduct of a good Design.

Design. He and his Flatterers have been challeng'd, over and over, to produce a single Instance, of any great or good Action; for the national Interest, concerted and accomplish'd by him, during so long a Continuance in Power. The most sanguine of his Sycophants have not dar'd to take up the Gaudet. He hath been mute. — As he rose by Party, he finds it necessary to support himself by Party; and endeavours to divert the general Hatred of the People from himself, by putting his *Master* upon Measures, which naturally tend to alienate their Affections.

We will suppose another Person, who introduces himself among his Betters by being a *Buffoon*; and is turn'd out of their Company for being saucy, ill-bred, noisy, scurrilous, obscene; the Jest and Scorn of Mankind! the Admiration of his *Patron*; intrusted with Affairs of the greatest Importance; and proving himself, thro' a long Series of Business incapable of it; — intrusted again; — lying in the Face of his Country; — believed; — lying again; — detected; — and yet supported.

Let me suppose two such Persons, whom Sympathy of Nature, Proximity of Blood, and the predominant Principle of endeavouring to raise themselves upon the Ruin of their Country, had united in the strictest Friendship, Confidence and Intimacy; joint Ministers, and inseparable Collegues in the Management of all Affairs. If These, and such as These, are to be Rulers of Nations; if such Characters are to be met with, the People of England will consider, whether These and such as These are the Men, in whose Hands They are willing to trust the Interest, the Honour and Glory of this Kingdom. But if no such Persons are in Being, this Description of Them is no more to the Purpose, than That which gave Occasion to it.

And now, my Dear, having paid this Regard to your Dedication, I shall look into the Body of this notable Treatise; in which perhaps you may have received some Assistance from your Patron himself, or that excellent Politician his Brother. I do not deny the whole to be your own Work; for there is nothing in the Matter or the Style of it, which you might not be able to produce; but I confess even the Bulk makes it a Point a little dubious; and Forty-eight Pages, even of such Stuff, seem a Toil almost too great for the flimsy Texture of so delicate a Brain. But however that may be; whether you compiled, or only dedicated the Piece; whether your Patron contributed some Strokes of that Rhetorick, which never persuades, and that *Pathos*, which never moves; or whether you compos'd the Lillies and Roses of your Cheeks by a painful Collection of all those Common-place Reflections, which swell this elaborate Piece; it cannot be improper to continue my Address to you, who have taken his Cause under your

immedi-

immediate Care, as he hath taken your Character and Conscience under his.

You set out, *Child*, with an Assertion, which is a flat Contradiction to the whole Tenor of your subsequent Libel; for you say, (p. 1.) that *no Plots at home, or Invasion from abroad seem to threaten us; and that the Spirit of Jacobitism seems to be dormant in private Corners, till a more proper Season offers to exert itself;* whereas there is scarce another Page in your whole Declamation, in which you do not charge the Authors and Patrons of the *Craftsman* with a Design of fomenting a Rebellion; overturning the present *Establishments*; bringing in the *Pretender*; and concerting another Revolution. Nay, in p. 35. you mention the *Discovery of some secret Engagements, which these pretended Patriots have entered into with the Jacobites.* You must have made this important Discovery, my Dear, since you wrote the first Page; because you acknowledge that you had no Apprehensions, at that Time, of any *Plots at home, or Invasions from abroad.* These *secret Engagements*, seem to be of the same Nature with those, which some sharp-sighted Persons spied out four or five Years ago; and perhaps they may be all be brought fully to Light at the same Time.

You tell us, that *you have pass'd the greatest Part of the late Vacation in a Country Retirement, and been enjoying the Fruits of Peace and Liberty, by the Labours of the Busy and the Great.* Lord, said a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, upon reading this Passage, what will this little Creature come out at last! a *Courtier* or a *Country Gentleman*; a *Gamester* or a *Patriot*; a *Post* or a *Pamphleteer*; a *Man* or a *Woman*!

One would be apt to think indeed that a Person, who scribbles in this Manner, can know very little of what is stirring in the active Part of the World; and I am sure you did not pick up your Materials from the *Craftsman* and *Fog's Journal*, which you say you have constantly perus'd. I wish you would inform us what Part of the Country you chuse for your Retirement, where the People feel the Blessings of the present Conjunction in so sensible a Manner; for we hardly meet with any thing but Peace, Plenty, Liberty, and Prosperity in every Page of this exquisite Performance. I say, my Dear, I wish you would be so kind as to let us know in what *Halcyon* Part of this Island you have had the good Fortune to find so agreeable a Retirement, that your Fellow-Subjects may have the Pleasure of partaking the same Blessings, and joining in the same Congratulations— But supposing the Case to be as you state it, Peace abroad and Tranquillity at home; why should it be otherwise? Did not your Patron find the Nation in Peace? Does not every *Englishman* pay his Share, of annual Taxes, towards the Maintenance of 20,000 Men to secure Tranquillity at home; and hath he not already paid his Quota of five or six Millions for purchasing a Peace abroad,

abroad, even when we had Reason to imagine it settled after a prosperous War?—This Peace must certainly be a choice Commodity at last, since we have gone to so many different Markets to buy it.

I am ready, upon all Occasions, to own the *Goodness of the King*; but the *Lenity* which the *Craftsman* hath met with from the *Ministers* hath been frequent *Imprisonments, vexatious Prosecutions, expensive Trials, Seizures of his Goods, and Interruption of his Business*. It cannot therefore be thought at all wonderful that he thinks himself more obliged to the Justice of a *Jury*, than to the *Lenity* of your *Patron*; and you might as well have ascribed the *Lenity of the past Season* to him.

You seem, little Master, to be one of those *Patriots* whom you describe; exceedingly *temperate* in your Concern for your Country, and immoderately *zealous* in the Interest of your *Patron*. For my Part, I have no great Notion of those two lukewarm Virtues, which you are pleased to recommend: I mean *Calmness* under any *impending Danger* of your Country; and *Moderation* towards the *Authors* of it. These were *Virtues* unknown to the ancient *Patrons of Greece and Rome*; who have, on some Occasions, sacrificed not only *private Friendships*, but even the *Sentiments of natural Affection* to the Love of their Country.

You are graciously pleased to declare that you will have so much *Charity* for the most *inveterate* of our modern *Incendiaries*, that you believe, at first setting out, They did not design to have run the Lengths, that Time and Despair have obliged them to do—Why this is mighty civilly done indeed! But what *Despair*, Child, do you mean? *Despair* of reforming your *Patron* or his *Measures*?—However, to shew you, my Dear, how grateful we are for such an Obligation, we will return your *Patron* the same Compliment, and charitably believe that he did not think of running such Lengths, at his first setting out; but being once embark'd, and having always had a natural Appetite of engrossing more Power than is consistent with a Subject, and amassing more Wealth than it was possible for him to accumulate by honest Methods, he found it necessary to go on from one Degree of Iniquity to another, for his own Support.

I will likewise compliment him with your *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*; and the whole Paragraph, which is tacked to it, properly belongs to him. You seem surprized, Master, that any Men, whose Principles and Education proclaimed them to be Whiggs, and whose Actions for the first Part of their Lives, confirm'd that Opinion, could resolve at once to leave their former Friends, &c. There must be certainly some strong Cause for such an extraordinary Event; and I am ready to grant that either these Gentlemen, or Those, whom they have left, have abandon'd their former Principles; but I will venture to challenge your *Patron* to mark out one Passage, or to produce a single Instance of any Proposition,

in which the Authors of the *Craftsman* have deviated from the Principles of true *Whiggism*. On the contrary, I will undertake to prove that the *Maxims*, upon which your *Patron* hath been defended, strike at the Root of all *Liberty*, and are the Principles of *arbitrary Power*.

I will likewise defy you to make good another Assertion, which hath been often repeated, and to point out one Paragraph in which his *Majesty's Person* hath been treated with Disrespect. If the Characters of *good* and *bad Kings* have been exhibited, in the Course of Mr. *Oldcastle's* excellent Observations, it must be your own bad Heart, which applies the worst to his present Majesty. To affirm that we ought never to quote a *disagreeable Piece of History*, exceeds the Politeness of the *Court Parson*, who thought it the height of Rudeness to mention *Hell* or *Damnation* in the *King's Chapel*.

I will go farther, and put the Case even according to your own Supposition; that a Person, concerned for the Welfare of his *Prince*, and debarred from his Presence, should take the Liberty to send him some Advice in the Disguise of *History*, and even to mark with *Italicks* those Passages, where he imagin'd his Danger to be the greatest; does such a Proceeding deserve the Author's Epithet, Traiterous? No; the *Flatterer*, and not the *Plain dealer*, is the *Traitor*.

You seem very apprehensive *Pag. 7.* of being turned into Ridicule by the witty Reasoners of this Age, for representing the *paultry Authors of a Two-penny Paper*, as Men of such Importance, that they are able to overturn the *Constitution* at Pleasure. Why really, *Master*, they do make a very considerable Figure in your Works, and seem to eclipse your *Patron* a little in his Negotiations with the Publick. But why will you have any Thing to do with these witty Reasoners, if you are afraid of being turn'd into Ridicule by them? Or why will such a nice Beau as you undertake the nauseous Task of raking into Dirt, and run the Hazard of being sullied your self? Prithee, leave off this new Trick of *political Defamation*; and if thou hast catched an Itch of scribbling, display thy Learning in the *Fairy Tales*, and publish Observations on Story Books: That is the only History fit for such a Writer to dabble in. What hast thou to do with Trade or Treaties, or Mr. *H—s*? Why should'st thou sully those pretty Figures with Ink? Methinks a Fan would become them much better than a *Pen*; but to draw thy *Grey-Goose-Quill* against either of those, whom thou hast chosen for thy Adversaries, is just as if a *Lilliputian* should offer to encounter a *Brobdignagian* in single Combat.

In *Page 11.* you are more severe upon your own *Patron*, than you are scurrilous upon the *Patrons of the Craftsman*: for let the World judge whose Head the Cap fits best.—An impudent Face must pass for the Evidence of an honest Heart; a bold

bold Assertion supply the Want of Matter of Fact; and a saucy Repetition of the same Falshood be impos'd as an undoubted Proof of Veracity.——Lord! said I, what could Master mean, to kick down all his labour'd Panegyrick at once by such an injudicious Paragraph?——Indeed, my Dear, you must not indulge your Fancy in drawing such Characters, as much as it may be the modern Fashion.

You now propose to give us a few Instances of the several Heads abovementioned, as far as you can recollect, from this Load of Infamy and Scandal, not having any Collection by you.——What a Pity is it that you have not been able, after all the Pains you have taken, to get a compleat Set of the Craftsman from Coffee houses and Booksellers Shops. I think it was very uncivil in Mr. Francklin not to oblige you with a Collection, when you sent to him for it; but if you will have Patience for two or three Months longer, you may have as many Sets of this Load of Infamy and Scandal as you please, and be able to quote Chapter and Verse, from our political Geneses to the Revelations, without being oblig'd to your Jacobite Neighbour.

In the first Place you are very angry with us for complaining of the great Load of Taxes and Debts, which the Nation lies under; and tell us that These are one of the Inconveniencies, which no human Prudence can prevent. Your Reason seems to be, that if human Prudence could have prevented it, your Patron would certainly have done it; and who will have the Impudence to deny such Conclusions?—But alas! what hast thou to do with Taxes or Debts, which I dare say you understand as much as you feel? Those, whom you call the Patrons of the Craftsman, pay their Taxes out of large Estates; and even the Craftsman Himself contributes near a thousand Pounds a Year out of his Labours for the Publick, to his Majesty's Revenue. But which Way can't Thou pretend to have ever paid any Taxes, unless it be out of a Pension, or a Salary?

The Preservation of our Religion and Liberties is always made the Pretence and Excuse for these Debts; and because it once made the incurring of a large Debt really necessary, is therefore trump't up to serve every dirty Job of a Minister. Our Religion and Liberties are certainly very valuable Blessings. I am as ready to contribute, and willing to venture as far as any Man for the Support of both; but Those, who bring either of them in Danger, are answerable for the Expences, which those Dangers occasion. I hope the letting in the Light of the Gospel will not be a perpetual Window-Tax upon the Nation; and that We shall not always continue to pay Fees for our Liberties, as the Prisoners in the Fleet do for a Day-Rule.

If the Authors of the Craftsman complain that the national Debts are not diminished during a continued Peace for eighteen Years, are they therefore unreasonable Men? Or, if they affirm that

that They are *increased*, when the Case is evidently so, are They bad Arithmeticians.

You wonder, my Dear, how this Charge can be supported. My Wonder is quite different; for I think the Charge much more easily supported than the Taxes, without any Reflection on the glorious Memory of King William. Nobody is more ready than my self to acknowledge the Obligations We lie under to that immortal Prince for our *Delivery from Popery and Slavery*; but at present, I think, We stand very much in Need of a wise and frugal Minister to deliver us from the Burthen of Debts and Taxes.

Here you take Notice of a Libel (as you call it) intituled a *State of the National Debt*, with the odious List of Taxes made perpetual &c. at the Tail of it; and tell us that the Falsity of this Libel hath been notoriously made appear, upon an accidental Occurrence in the House of Commons, soon after the Publication of it.——This is an arrant Fib, Master; and I believe your Patron will not think Himself obliged to you for reviving the Memory of an Affair, in which He received such a memorable Defeat from a Gentleman, who never valued Himself upon any extraordinary Skill in Accounts; but by a little Application and a common Capacity, He unravel'd all this labour'd Mystery and discomfited the pretended Goliath at his own Weapons. You cannot forget, my Dear, in what an insolent, ostentatious Manner your Patron behaved at first, in this Debate, as if Nobody understood any Thing of the Matter but Himself; and how He hung his Head, when he found Himself obliged to confess his Ignorance before the whole House, and to stand corrected in many Particulars, by his Adversary, whom he had thus arrogantly defy'd. The Gentleman took no great Glory to Himself from this Victory, but ingeniously declar'd, that any Body might easily make himself Master of this Subject, as dark and intricate as it seem'd to be, and as your Patron endeavour'd to make it, by only reading over three or four Acts of Parliament, Mr. Hutcheson's *State of the Debts*, and a few other Pamphlets. But this was a terrible Overthrow to your Patron, as it discover'd his Nakedness in the single Branch of his Administration, in which He was ever supposed to have more than ordinary Capacities; and the Managers of the great Companies, who might have been possess'd with a Notion of his Abilities in this Particular, must be now convinced of their Error, and that He is far from being the only Man (on many Accounts not the fittest Man) to whose Hands their Properties may be safely committed.

This was demonstrated in a * Pamphlet, publish'd soon after; in which the whole Controversy is stated at large, and no

* Considerations on the National Debts, the sinking Fund, and the State of publick Credit, &c.

Answer to it was ever attempted; which is the Reason, I presume, that you did not mention *this Libel* as well as the other.

You allow the *Losses*, *sustain'd* by our Merchants in the *West Indies*, to be a real Misfortune; a Misfortune to be lamented, complain'd of (by every body, except the Craftsman) and, if possible, to be redress'd. — Is then the *Reparation*, stipulated to our Merchants, become a Point of bare Possibility only, after all their Trouble and Expences, as well as the Assurances, which were given them of Satisfaction? For God's sake, my Dear, don't blab out such unwelcome Secrets, but keep up their Spirits with Hopes for some Time longer, lest They should grow impatient, and tease your Patron with fresh Representations. Don't offer to say that our real Losses are not sufficient to raise such a Clamour of Themselves; because such an Insult upon the unhappy Sufferers may provoke Them to lay their Case before the Parliament, and to prove, as I am afraid it is easy to do, that the Losses of this Nation, by our late Rupture with Spain, are much greater than they have been yet represented.

Satisfaction to the Merchants (says our pretty Master) is the least Thing They were anxious for. That would put an End to Clamour and Discontent; and their only Hope, at present, is a Failure in the punctual Observation of the Articles for this Purpose.

Here's another Blab now! What Occasion had you, Child, to talk of Failures? You should always insist upon positive Assurances, as your Patron hath done for many Years together, and make a bold Assertion supply the Want of Matter of Fact. — But if *Reparation to our Merchants would put an End to Clamour and Discontent*; prithee, advise thy Patron to make Them easy in this Respect, and give these wicked Incendiaries a finishing Blow. — That would be a Triumph indeed! and serve as well as Mr. Osborne's Thunder-Clap.

The Loss of every Ship, says the young Gentleman, is a national Concern; and, as such, it appears it was considered in our late Treaty with Spain. — But it likewise appears that We have hitherto had no Reparation; though the Merchants have taken all the becoming Methods recommended by this Master of political Ceremonies. They represented their Grievances to the Minister. They petition'd the Parliament, and sometimes complain'd of their Case in Letters to the Craftsman. This is called aggravating their Misfortune, and making it an Handle for Clamour. Such a modest Exhortation to Men under Misfortunes not to complain or cry out, is just in the Style of the Butcher to his Hog, which He was carrying to Slaughter; D—n Thee for a noisy, grunting Beast, can't you lie still and be quiet, like that Sheep yonder?

Master, goes on thus. These are the only real Inconveniencies, or Misfortunes, that I can recollect, as charged to the Account of the present Ministers, since the Hanover Succession took Place. — Say'st Thou so, my Dear? What a sad Thing it is to have a bad

Memory? Did'st Thou never read any Thing about *large, standing Armies in Times of Peace; unnatural Alliances; destructive Expeditions abroad, and merry-making Armada's at home; impracticable Treaties; dishonourable Expedients; Hessian Troops; Irish Recruits; Gibraltar; the Reparation of Dunkirk; Indignities offer'd to the British Flag; or the Affair of Santa Lucia?*—— Prithee, rub up thy Memory a little, and recollect whether you never heard of a certain Contract with the BANK (the most iniquitous Part of the *South-Sea Scheme!*) which, though drawn up by your Patron's own Hand, and made with the utmost Solemnity, He did not scruple to declare null and void, after He had made his own Advantage of it, though to the Ruin of Thousands of Families?—— Did'st thou never hear of the same Person's buying up great Quantities of *Army Debentures* at a very high Discount (perhaps most of them with the *publick Money* too) and when he was possessed of them, providing an Interest for them, with a Retrospect for several Years; nay, what is still more extraordinary, *choosing Them out of all the Debts of the Publick to be first paid off, though They originally had no Fund appropriated for the Payment of the Principal or Interest?*—— See! what it is *not to have a Collection of that Load of Infamy and Scandal, in which such Things are mention'd!*

You seem to think yourself very witty in supposing that the *late Rebellion will not be brought to his Account*; and yet, as arch as you are, I think you had much better have said nothing about it; for though it may not, perhaps, be *brought to his Account*; yet it is well known, that He *found his Account in it.*

But now comes the Conclusion from these Premises——
From these Inconveniences therefore, fewer, and less considerable than ever attended this Nation for so long a Series of Time as since his late Majesty's Accession, it appeared difficult, it hath proved vain to attempt the Destruction of the Ministers.—— Well said, Master, upon my Word! you now begin to understand your Lesson, and promise to make a *great Man in Time.*——
This Nation was never attended with fewer or less considerable Inconveniences!—— Excellently asserted! There is some Spirit in This. I defy your Patron himself to make a rounder Assertion, when He next rises up in Defence of his *late Measures.*

After This, you break out into the usual Strain of Exultation upon the *Felicity of the Times*—— I can hardly determine which of the Two is most ridiculous; a pert, little Creature talking in this shameless Manner; or a Man that gravely sits down to answer so many confident Affirmations without the least Proof, or any Regard to the Rep'ies, which have been made to them over and over again—— *Peace, Plenty, and Tranquillity, Increase of Riches, flourishing State of Trade and publick Credit,* are only so many Words in your Patron's political Breviary, which his Creatures are oblig'd to repeat, like a *Bead-Roll*, upon all Occasions.

cations. It puts me in mind of a profligate Priest singing a *Requiem* over a poor, miserable, departing Sinner.

You are so modest, indeed, when you speak of our *flourishing Trade*, as to add this Restriction, *except with some small Interruption*. You might have added likewise, *some moderate Seizures, and inconsiderable Depredations*.

I cannot recollect, *my Dear*, that I have ever wrote any thing against the Interest of the *Bank*, the *South-Sea Company*, or the *India Company*, as They were *just and fair Creditors of the Publick*. It is the Business of every honest Man to do what is in his Power to support their Credit. But as *Monopolies and exclusive Corporations*, indeed, I have always thought them dangerous Tools in the Hands of a *Minister*. I have constantly declared against any *Jobb* done for any of them. I have likewise always been against any *clandestine Trade*; which is not only injurious to the *Proprietors*, but often prejudicial to the Nation, as it gives *those Powers*, with whom this *private Trade* is carry'd on, a plausible Pretence for quarrelling with us, whenever their Interest or Resentment prompts them to it. I suppose, *Master*, This is what you mean by saying that I have written against the several *great Companies*.

You go on in the same masterly Stile——— *This cavilling about foreign Politicks, and these unavoidable Inconveniencies have not inflamed the People to call out for a Change of Government*———

What do you mean by a *Change of Government, my Dear*? If you mean a *Change of the Constitution*, I agree with you. The People have not call'd out for a *Change of the Constitution*; nor do They seem to be in a Disposition to submit to it, if your *Patron* should attempt it. They call out very loudly for the Preservation of it. But if you mean the *Change of the Ministry*, I must confess that I think the People have discover'd some small Inclination that way, though without Success. They seem to call out for new *Ministers*, as *Owen Glendower* call'd *Spirits from the Dead*. They will not always come when He calls.

I hope, *Master*, that you was well inform'd, when you assured us that the *Design of restraining the Press* lives not but in our own Brains. I hope the Government is not so weak as to stand in need of so extraordinary a Remedy——— But here you seem to forget yourself again; for about 14 Pages after this gracious Declaration, you express your Concern, in a very pathetick Manner, that our excellent Laws should prove a *Sanctuary* for these artful Revilers and hypocritical Dispersers of Treason; and, in another Place, you say that They ought to be punish'd, instead of despis'd.——— Why so, *my Dear*, if your own Observation is just (and I think it by far the best in your whole Book) that it is not the Accusation, but the Truth of it, which gives the Wound; and an innocent Man feels no more pain from the publishing a false Slander, than the Slanderer gains Credit by inventing the Falshood——— I say, if This be true, and your *Patron* is an

an innocent Man, what Occasion is there for Punishment? or why need you feel any Concern, Child, that our excellent-Laws should prove a Sanctuary to these artful Revilers? ——— But are you sure, Master, that such a Design never liv'd in any other Brains besides ours? Have no Attempts been made to this Purpose? Were no Persons ever founded upon it, or even solicited to come into it? ——— Have a Care, my Dear, how you take upon you to asseverate too strongly upon this Head, lest you should be openly convicted of Falshood, and it should appear that your Patron us'd his utmost Endeavours to accomplish this Design; but meeting with the Repulse, which He deserv'd, was oblig'd to lay it aside, and affected the outward Appearance of being a Friend to that Liberty, which He had secretly attempted to suppress.

But nothing, surely, can be more ridiculous than your Complaints of *scurrilous Language*, *Billingsgate*, and *calling Names*: for (to use your own Words) *I could undertake to produce more scurrilous Language, more private Scandal, and more ungentlemanlike Abuse out of the Libels against the supposed Authors and Patrons of the Craftsman, for these four Years past, than can possibly be shewn in all the polemical Writings of any Reign whatsoever.* ——— Rogue, Rascal, Liar, Scoundrel, Traytor, and Villain, are the principal Flowers of your Rhetorick, and the Foundation of all your Arguments. Prithee, Child, talk no more of *Scurrility*, whilst your own Writings discover such a cordial Union and Alliance between *Billingsgate* and *St. J.* ———'s

You have display'd your Ignorance and Indiscretion in another Passage, relating to your Patron; where you suppose the Terms *ambitious* and *expensive*, *enterprizing* and *cowardly*, *bold* and *fearful*, *ignorant* and *cunning*, to be inconsistent and contradictory Epithets.

If you had ever read *Salust*, Master, you would have found this Description of *Cataline*; *alieni appetens*; *sui profusus*; that is, *greedy of other People's Money, and a Squanderer of his own*. Tacitus calls a *bad Minister* (I think it is *Sejanus*) *Rapti Largitor*; which may be translated a *plundering Spendthrift*. Nay, *Rapine* and *Profusion* are so far from being inconsistent, that there is an immediate Connection between them. *Extravagance* and *Distress* naturally inspire *Avarice*, as *Avarice* renders *Corruption* familiar and necessary ——— I could mention a *Statesman* (or rather a *Minister*) of this Kind, whose *Extravagance* made Him so *necessitous*, when he came into Power, and his *Necessities* so *corrupt*, that he made no Scruple to pay off all his *Tradesmen* their long *Arrears* by *Employments* under the Government.

In the same Manner a Man may be *enterprizing* and *cowardly*, *bold* and *fearful*; like the *Bully* you describe; who *flourishes his Sword at the Corner of every Street*, and yet perhaps will take a *Kick* or a *Box on the Ear*, very patiently, from a Man of true *Honour* and *Courage*.

Ignorance

Ignorance and *Cunning* are equally consistent in the same Character; unless you will suppose, in Contradiction to publick Notoriety, that it is impossible for a Man to be totally ignorant of political Affairs, who hath proved Himself cunning enough to raise an exorbitant Estate by *Bribery*, *Corruption* and *Stock-jobbing*.

The two Epithets, which seem to give your Patron's Stomach most Offence, are *corrupt* and *blundering*; and therefore our pretty, little Scribbler thinks them deserving a more particular Regard—We must attend attend upon *Master* in this Disquisition.

I wish, young Gentleman, that I could, with tolerable Decency, return your Patron the Compliment, which you have been pleas'd to bestow upon mine, in the following Words. *It will be readily granted, that amongst Those, who wish the Destruction of the Ministers, nay, and have vow'd it too, there are not wanting Men of great Parts, vers'd in the Ways of Business, acquainted with Courts, and not ignorant of Mankind*——What a Pity is it, I say, that I cannot apply any of these great Qualities to your Patron, without incurring the Imputation of gross Flattery, which is as nauseous to Me, as it is agreeable to Him!

The Vow, said to have been made, for the Destruction of a Minister, is trump't up and exaggerated upon all Occasions, though it hath been already explain'd, and shewn not to be of so bloody a Nature, as the Friends of the Minister, from their own direful Apprehensions, have represented it——What an unpardonable Piece of Inhumanity is it for any Gentleman to attempt the Ruin of a Minister, in his ministerial Capacity, when He is reduced to the Alternative of giving up the Minister or his Country? A Man, who prefers the Safety of his Country to the filling of his Pockets now a-days becomes the Object of Wonder and Ridicule; an old-fashion'd Fellow with *Cravat-Strings* and *Pantaloons Breeches*.

But the most surprizing Charge of all is our Accusation of *Corruption*, and not attempting the Proof of it in the present Situation of the Minister; but you seem, pretty Sir, to take the Word *Corruption*, in a limited Sense, and confine it to the Corrupter—Give me Leave to illustrate This by a parallel Case—There is a certain, unnatural, reigning Vice (indecent and almost shocking to mention) which hath, of late, been severely punish'd in a neighbouring Nation. It is well known that there must be two Parties in this Crime; the *Patrick* and the *Agent*; both equally guilty. I need not explain These any farther, The Proof of the Crime hath been generally made by the *Patrick*; but I believe that Evidence will not be obtained quite so easily in the Case of *Corruption*, when a Man enjoys every Moment the Fruits of his Guilt.

What follows, Page 23, is the familiar and customary Interposition of the sacred Character of Majesty to screen the Minister; a pitiful sculking behind the Throne, so often exposed and

and without any Answer, that I shall take no farther Notice of it.

The next high Crime and Misdemeanour charged upon us by the *dapper little Author*, is calling his Patron a *Blunderer*. It is somewhat strange, *my Dear*, that you should find Fault with the softest Word that can be given, supposing the Case to be as We put it; for *Male-Administration* must be either *Blundering* or *Treachery*; a Fault in the *Hearts*, or in the *Understanding*. For my Part, I think *blundering* the most charitable, kind and even friendly Epithet in this Case; for what must We call Him otherwise; or why should it offend Him, if He does not deserve it? Queen *Elizabeth's Fool*, who was whipt for calling a simple Courtier *Brother*, had Sense enough to know that if he had call'd Lord *Burleigh* so, it would have given no Offence.

But it seems a certain Patron of the *Craftsman* does not consider how far his own Reputation suffers for having been the FOLLOWER of a Fool; fighting under his BANNERS, and endeavouring to persuade the World that He is able to instruct his MASTER.——What canst Thou mean, *Chis*, by all this Stuff? I don't understand what Right your Patron had, from any Circumstances of Character, Fortune, or Abilities, to erect his Standard in a joint-Administration, and to command others to follow Him as their Master. We are very sensible indeed that He had always a Spirit of Domination in him; but why should *Those*, who never wanted his Assistance, be obliged to submit to his Authority?

How far the Principles of Honour may engage some Men not to blast the Reputation of others, with whom They have lived in Friendship, you will not determine.——Pray, Master, read this Paragraph over again, and weigh it well. Think what Reflections may be made upon it, when the World shall come to compare this Sentence and your Conduct together. Will it not be natural to ask if you never had any particular and very great Obligations to a certain Person? Was you not taken into his House like one of his own Family? Did He not in every Thing shew a Disposition, perhaps more, to serve you? Did He not almost singly support your Character, when the little Finicalness of your Person had made you the Joke and Contempt of Mankind? Might not This be carried still farther?—Here therefore I will stop;——Only thus much may be said—This former Patron of yours was, at least, the remote Cause of your obtaining the very Employment you now enjoy; and your present Patron, as destitute as He is of Friends, would have thought you too insignificant an Acquisition to have been purchas'd at so high a Price, if it had not been for the Additional Satisfaction of having purloin'd you from his next Door Neighbour.

Your

Your next judicious Charge against Mr. D'Anvers is, that He hath complain'd of *Corruption in Elections of Members to serve in Parliaments*. This is, no doubt, a most impudent and groundless Charge; and I hope the Reader will resent the Frivolousness of the Complaint. But it unluckily happens that the *Electors of Great-Britain* have received a small Rebuke, of the same Nature, from their *Representatives*, as well as Mr. D'Anvers; for I think the late *Act against Corruption in Elections* is almost as unmannerly as the Writings of the *Craftsman*.

Having call'd upon the *collective Body of the People*, the *three great Companies*, and (what is more than all) your own *Patron* to avenge Themselves upon this *Craftsman*, with no better Success than the *Craftsman* and the *People* have call'd for a *Change of the Ministry*; you call, at last, very loudly upon *both Houses of Parliament* to destroy Him without any Ceremony. His Crime towards these *august Bodies* is, that He hath somewhere said that They ought to be as independent of the Crown as possible; and that it is dangerous to the *Liberty of Parliaments* to let too many of the *Members* accept of *Places at Court*.—How base, says little Master, is this Maxim? How false is the Conclusion? Is our *Commonwealth* so form'd, that the *Service of the King and of the People* is inconsistent? Yet as base as this Maxim may seem in your Eyes, it hath been the Maxim of some of the wisest Men of England; particularly of your own *Patron*; who declared, about twelve Years ago, that the *King's Service* was a Burthen too great for any Man of Honour to bear; that is, *inconsistent with the Service of the People*. But let us turn this Proposition to the other Side; and ask our little Gentleman, whether the *Service of the King and of the People* is so inconsistent, that a *Country Gentleman* cannot perform *both* at the same Time? that when He is return'd as a Representative of his *Country*, it is absolutely necessary to engage Him by some Reward to serve his *King*. Is the *Crown* to suspect a *Country Gentleman*, with a good Estate, of any Design to disturb and overturn the Government, in which He hath so great a Stake? Ought we not to suppose that his Zeal and Concern for the joint Interest of *King and People*, as well as his Weight and Credit, will be proportionably greater than That of a little, dirty Fellow in an Office? Is it not natural for the *People* to judge *Subsidies* more necessary, when they are raised by Representatives, who put none of them into their own Pockets, than by such as are reimburs'd? and is it not more honourable for the *Crown* to receive them at such Hands?

No less unfortunate is thy Reasoning, my Dear, in the following Part of the same Paragraph, where you tax *Those* with *Self-interestedness*, who abandon'd their *Places*, in order to vindicate *Those*, who kept them. I believe, I may venture to say that some of them might have held their Employments still

D

upon

upon the same slavish Terms, which you propose. Methinks, *quitting a Place* is an odd Mark of an *interested View*; and your *Patron* formerly reason'd in the same Manner, when the same Aspersions were cast upon Him for resigning his Employments; but We are not to expect Consistency either in *You* or *Him*. I must however congratulate Him on being bless'd with the concurring Services of so many *worthy Patriots*, who discover none of these *selfish Views* by *quitting their Places*.

For my Part, I really and on my Conscience believe that the Charge of endeavouring to get into Employment by *Opposition* was never more groundless than at present. I believe no body is very ambitious of getting up to the Top of a *falling House*; and such, *my Dear*, I take your *Patron's* System of Affairs to be at present.

You go on fibbing most abominably in the two next Pages; where you charge us with abusing the *Judges* and the Bench of *Bishops*. Let me beg of you, my *dear little Trifler*, to quote the Paper, where We call the great Oracles of the Law a *Pack of Judges*. I can recollect no such Expression; but am ready to produce many Passages, where We have express'd the utmost Respect for those learned and venerable Sages, without leaving the least Room to suspect us of *Irony* or *Ridicule*. In one Place, particularly, We acknowledge that the *Bench* was never fill'd with more able and upright *Men* than it is at present; and I am sure no Body can be more sincerely pleas'd than my self, to see that excellent *Person*, who hath long presided in one of our *Courts of Justice* with the greatest Ability and Integrity, distinguish'd by those Honours, to which his Merit hath so justly intitled Him.

As to the Right Reverend my Lords, the *Bishops*, I hope their Reputation does not stand in need of such *childish Panegyrics*; and I will leave Mankind to judge, whether it is not the greatest Reflection on that venerable Bench to suppose Them capable of being turn'd into Ridicule, on Account of their *Piety* or *Learning*.

Another Falshood, which you have broach'd in the same Paragraph is, that We have recommended *Affassination of Ministers*; which is so directly contrary to Truth, that We have express'd our Abhorrence of it in that very Paper, I think, to which you allude; and shew'd the ill Consequences of it to the Publick, as it defrauds them of a just Example of Punishment to deter *future Criminals*, and sinks the Memory of a wicked Man's Guilt in Compassion for the Manner of his Death—— But how can We expect *Truth* in the Defence of a *Cause*, which subsists upon *Falshood*?

As your Engagements oblige you to stick at nothing, so you are not ashamed to charge us with having *insulied and calumniated the best of Queens*. We could likewise prove the Falshood

of this Assertion, and produce several Instances from our Writings, in which We offer'd our just Tribute of Praise upon her Majesty's first Accession to the Throne; but herein, *Master*, lies the Difference between us. You seem to think that a continual Re-iteration of the same *trite Topicks of Panegyrick* may be of Advantage to your *Fortune*. We apprehend, on the contrary, that always dwelling upon the same Compliments, which grow nauseous, and degenerate into the meanest Flattery by Repetition, is highly disadvantageous to her Character; and We leave the World to judge who set her Majesty in the fairest Light; They who act as if she despises such little Artifices; or They, who represent Her in their Writings as one, weak enough to be caught by such low Adulation——Thus are you, Sir, constantly employing your pretty Parts to deck out and adorn the Throne; but can't you moderate the Lust of *Antishefism* in your Panegyrick upon Majesty; or do you think it any Compliment to a great *Queen* to swell up the Inventory of her Royal Virtues by Deductions from the Merit of a poor *weekly Writer*; for This, *my Dear*, is the Sum of your Encomium——Who is the *goodliest Woman*? The *Q——n*.——Who is the *wickedest Man*? The *Craftsman*.——Who is the best of *Protestants*? The *Q——n*.——Who is a *Jacobite* in his Heart, and endeavours to bring in *Papery* and the *Presender*? The *Craftsman*.——Who is the best of *Wives*, and takes Care of her numerous Family? The *Q——n*.——Who is a *Cannibal*, and would devour his own Children? The *Craftsman*.——Her Majesty is highly oblig'd to such *coarse Daubers*; and great Honour, no doubt, must redound to Her by such an Opposition of Characters——But when you sit down again to draw such Pictures, let me advise you to follow the Example of your judicious Fellow-Labourer, Mr. *Francis Walsingham*, who celebrates Sir *George Briton's* Lady for her *Parsimony*, and laying up as much as she can, to provide for her younger Children——This is a just Topick of Praise, as it tends to make her beloved amongst her *Tenants*, and is therefore worthy of your Imitation.

You have acquainted us with one great Secret; that the *Publick* sees through our Design, and will not be imposed upon any longer——To what Purpose then are all these Pains, these Prosecutions, and the Profusion of Expence amongst a Parcel of poor Scribes to refute an Author, who hath lost all Credit, and whom every Body despises?——A *Writer* is like a publick Orator in a free Government. He is but the Mouth of the People, and if He does not speak their Sense, his Oratory will have no manner of Effect. What can an *Incendiary* do, where there is no combustible Matter? The greatest Security of your *Patron* against these *Incendiaries* consists in the hardness of his Metal. A *Squib*, or a *Fire-Ball* cannot melt down *Brass*; and He hath that *murus aeneus*, that *Brazen-Wall*, not of Innocence indeed, but

but of *Assurance*, to protect Him. *Pamphlets* against a good and a wise Minister are but *Paper-Bullets*. A Writer must find Grievances. He cannot make them; and We may very properly apply what *Tully* somewhere says to ourselves,—*Neque mihi videatur hac multitudo, qua ad audiendum convenit, cognoscere ex ea Me Causam voluisse, sed ea qua scit mecum recognoscere.*

If *Obloquy* and *Slander* are the *Fines*, which the Minister pays for a long Series of *Favour* and *Prosperity* (I suppose you mean his own *Prosperity*, not the Nation's) I think your Patron pays a very small *Quit-Rent*; as the *Italian Wit* said to the *Emperor*, too little Money for so much Folly. How much cheaper does He come off than the Earl of *Strafford*, his great *Prototype*, according to the judicious Parallel of one of his Flatterers? For my Part, I think his *Fine* is so far from being high, that it is quite a *Pennyworth*; instead of an *Impeachment*, a weekly *Admonition*, at the Rate of Two-pence every *Saturday*, and paid for by the good People of *England*. Why should he be so angry with his *Benefactors*? The Authors of the *Craftsman* have often set him right, and constantly walk after Him with a *Spunge* and a *Rubbing-Brush* to wash out the Spots, which he daily contracts. — What he hath done right hath been intirely owing to these Gentlemen, whom He abuses.

And now, *Master*, I have done with you for the present; and I hope for ever; for, to tell you the Truth, I am not only tired with this *Manner* of writing, which you have made necessary; but grow also ashamed of continuing any Contest with you. No good *Tennis-player* cares to go into a *Court* with a Child, that hath scarce Strength to hold a *Racket*, and cannot pretend to return the *Ball*. But if your Patron will write himself, or pay some better Pen for doing it, He may always depend on my having so much Complaisance as to make Him, what I hope the World will esteem This to be, a PROPER REPLY.

To conclude——Whether you wrote the Whole of this abusive *Libel*, or not, your *Observations* and *Sequel* deserve this Treatment from one, who never design'd you any Harm till you fell on others, in so outrageous a Manner; and if you should think fit to disown this Piece; yet the Usage, which other Gentlemen have frequently met with, as the Authors of *Papers*, which They never saw, before They were published, must apologize for this Application to you from,

S I R,

6 MA 50

Your Humble Servant,

Gray's-Inn, Jan.
20. 1730-1.

Cal. D'Anvers.

R O B I N's
PANEGYRICK.
OR, THE
N O R F O L K
MISCELLANY.

P A R T III.



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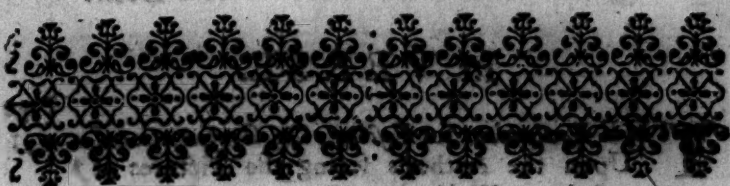


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*The UXBRIDGE DUPLICATE: Or,
 the J--DGE Justify'd.*

COME ye Ministers all so courtly,
 And ev'ry Impeachment Hater;
 Come ye Writers so keen,
 Who for *Robin* have been,
 Th' *Enquirer* and *Considerator*.

Come, ye Countrymen all so furly,
 Who swear there is need of a Halter
 For the Folks who betray'd
 Both our Laws and our Trade,
 And our *Portmahon* and *Gibraltar*:

I'll tell you a delicate Story,
 Which will certainly move your Laughter,
 For the Comfort of all,
 Both the Great and the Small,
 That shall need to be Rogues hereafter.

There has been a most sad Prosecution
 Of a *Sage*, who, it seems, has a *Brother*:
 The World it agrees
 They're alike as two Peas,
 Or as one Knave is to another.

This *Duplicate* sly and saucy
 Put on *Ayres* as an impudent Fellow,
 With a Paunch and a Gown,
 And a Strut and a Frown,
 And a Hat like an *Umbrello*.

The *One* would go to a Prison,
 When the *Other* should have been there-a;
 All those who know both
 Will declare upon Oath,
 That the Man he is *Copia Vera*.

Not

Not only your Eyes may deceive you,
 But your Ears themselves they may lie;
 You wou'd own for a *Fee*,
 Tho' a *Transcript* he be,
Concordat cum Originali.

How convenient it were for *Robin*,
 When he reckons for Publick Money,
 Could he vanish from Sight,
 And swear 'twas a Bite,
 And thought but an *Error Personæ*.

Then a Fig for the hard-fac'd *Switzer*,
 And his Midnight Way of Trading;
 For we must needs declare,
 There is nought can compare
 To the Noon-day *Masquerading*.

On Colonel FRANCISCO, *Rape-Master General*
 of Great Britain.

GOOD People come heark, and a Story I'll tell,
 And unless you be Knaves, it will please ye full
 well,
 How an Accident strange a rich Rascal befell,
Which no body can deny.

Who would ravish, forswear, and pick Pockets, and
 cheat,
 And by Men was oft beaten, and Women did beat:
 A Favourite worthy of BOBBY the Great!
Which no body can deny.

His Fellow on Earth to be sure there is not,
 But as little to lessen your Wonder, I wot
 By Name he is CH...S, by Nation a Scot,
Which no body can deny.

For a Rape he once fled from his own native Cline,
 And with Pistols but lately attempted the Crime;
 Sure he ought to be hang'd that is caught a third time,
Which no body can deny.

At

At the Age of Threescore he no wiser did grow,
But must needs try again for a Frolick, or so,
Like himself being willing to finish his Show,
Which no body can deny.

So a Maid he attack'd, but we here shall stop short;
If you'd have any more, you must go to the Court,
Where he once in his Lifetime has paid for the Sport,
Which no body can deny.

BOB told him before-hand, to give him his Due,
Dear Col'nel, a Jury may make you look blue,
If of *Englishmen* all, that are good Men and true,
Which no body can deny.

But no Jury could frighten our Col'nel so bold,
Being sure *Tyburn-Tree*, tho' some Hundred Years old,
Never yet bore a Man that had half so much Gold,
Which no body can deny.

But when *Verdict* was past, he was down in the Dumps,
And for Shifts and Excuses *Sir William* he pumps;
Ay, and *Bobby the Screen* too was put to his Trumps,
Which no body can deny.

The same that for *Huggins* was once in a Fright,
For whom *Acton* and *Bambridge* will swear by this
Light,
To a Rogue in Distress he is stil'd a *True Knight*,
Which no body can deny.

Quoth the Col'nel, in Hands disaffected my Store is,
The two Sheriffs of *London* are violent *Tories*:
The High-bailiff a-kin to a Bishop, that more is,
Which no body can deny.

So he blusters and swears in a terrible Coil-a:
Thieves! South-Country Rogues! how my Treasure
they spoil-a!
Come and help good Lord Duke, come and help,
Doctor Isa!
Which no body can deny.

Now Petitioners plenty our Liege do incumber,
 You may think Sir of *Norfolk* is one of the Number;
 Ah *Bob!* thou shouldst go further North than *North*
Humber,

Which no body can deny.

The National Folks they full wisely agreed,
 'Twere a Shame that a Loon of the North-Country
 Breed

Should be justify'd ever on this Side the *Tweed,*

Which no body can deny.

Tooth and Nail, one and all, for their Brother they
 stand,

From your Garters to Pedlars that travel the Land;
 All but those that have Hair in the Palm of their Hand,

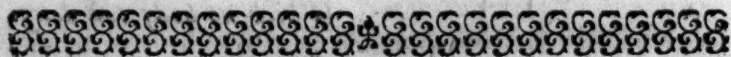
Which no body can deny.

But Pardon some *Scots* for the rest may atone,
 Who for Honour and Virtue would Justice have shewn
 On the Plague of our Realm, and the Shame of their
 own,

Which no body can deny.

If his Majesty's Grace will let Villainy swing,
 O then all honest Hearts they will chearfully sing,
 Boys, hang up the Col'nel, and God bless the King,

Which no body can deny.



An Historical Ballad, humbly inscrib'd to the
DUUMVIR.

FULL Forty long Years has *Old England* com-
 plain'd

Of Taxes of all Sorts and Sizes:

Much Blood has been spilt, much Wealth has been
 drein'd,

Yet still the good Counsel despises.

If Crowns she confers, and Kingdoms divides,
 With which she has nothing to do;
 Yet no one can blame her for oft changing Sides,
 To her own Kings just so she is true.

To pull down the *French*, to raise up the *Dutch*,
 The *Spaniard* and *German* to save;
 For herself to do nothing, for others too much,
 If not *Wise*, at least, it was *Brave*.

At length comes a Peace, and *France* is caress'd,
 For *France* is a faithful Ally!
 Then *Germans* are rais'd, the *Spaniard* oppress'd,
 And all this without knowing why.

Our Admiral nobly the *Spaniard* surpriz'd,
 Burnt his Ships ere a War did begin;
 And just as the Powers more potent advis'd,
 Poor *SAVOY*'s turn'd out, and turn'd in.

Then *Germans* and *Spaniards* united she dares,
 And enters undaunted the Lists;
 Secur'd by the *Hessians*, *Old England* ne'er fears,
 And *Great Wolfenbuttle*'s caress'd!

Our Trade will be lost, all *England* wear Chains,
DON CARLOS to *Italy*'s sent;
 New Taxes, more Troops, employ all our Pains,
 This fatal Design to prevent.

Cry-a-Mercy! it seems this is a Mistake,
 For Int'rest the *Don* we must aid;
 Our *Ancient Ally* we now must forsake,
 Of the *Emperor* only afraid.

Such Conduct must lead us, *Jove* only knows whither;
 Yet Order may spring from Confusion:
 'Tis Peace, it is War, 'tis both, it is neither,
 Effects of a *Blest Rev-----on!*

O *ROBIN*! O *HORACE*! ye Brethren so wise!
 Who Matters of State so well handle,
 At least take away, we humbly advise,
 The Taxes on *Soap* and on *Candle*.

To your Honours it is sufficient Pretence
 To order Repeal to those Laws,
 That our Ladies no more (to save the Expence
 Of Washing) be forc'd to wear Gauze.

Their Majesties then, whene'er they desire,
 With Safety may ramble at Night:
 Nor *tumble in Ditches*, nor *wallow in Mire*,
 For want of a Halfpenny Light.

*The DUEL. A Ballad. Tune of, King John
 and the Abbot.*

I MEAN not sad Treason or Scandal to sing,
 Of the Queen, or the Duke, or the Prince, or the
 King:
 Nor yet any Riff-raff from me shall you hear---O,
 To the Tune, and that all, of old *Lilly burlero*.
Derry down, &c.

But I sing of a Combat so fierce and so stout,
 'Twixt a Youth that is *In*, and a Man that is *Out*;
 'Twixt a 'Squire that can use both a Pen and a Sword,
 And a *Lordling* who is, but may be a *Lord*.

It matters not how this Quarrel did rise,
 With *Miss* and----with *Master*, and *Master* and *Miss*;
 Or whether a Coward he should not be fil'd,
 Sets his Sword to a *Woman*, and Wit to a *Child*.

It was whisper'd full soft in the Favourite's Ear,
 There was nothing but Blood that his Honour could
 clear;
 And 'twas hop'd the bold 'Squire the 'bad Fortune
 might meet,
 To be murder'd, if beaten, and hang'd if he beat.

After long Consultation, a Challenge there went,
 To the Champion's Renown, and to Knighthood's
 Content;
 But the 'Squire cry'd out some Folks are wiser than
 some,
 So I shan't budge an Inch; if he comes let him come.
 So

So the *Courtier* he waits on the *Foe to the Court*,
 And their Wrath it was great, tho' their Swords were
 but short,
 As if little Harm they intended to do,
 For the Blades, had they enter'd, cou'd scarce have
 reach'd thro'.

When their Weapons were measur'd, to Battle they
 rush,
 And with Wit and with Anger, they parry and push;
 Nay, they shorten'd their Swords, and afresh they begun,
 And some Mischief, for certain, there might have
 been done.

But the Seconds forbad it, who rightly suppos'd,
 'Twas high time they were parted, when once they
 were clos'd;
 So some Sweat there was lost, and some Blood there
 was spill'd,
 But they both were so spiteful, that neither was kill'd.

Now there needed no Surgeon at all to be found,
 The *Lordling* to dress, or take Care of his Wound;
 For *Sir Blue* did the Bus'ness, as Members do tell,
 For he stroak'd it, and kiss'd it, and so made it well.

Then he safely got off. Sure he means not to fight
 With all that are Foes to the *Blue Ribband Knight*;
 For his Work wou'd be large, he might meet Hand
 to Hand
 Ev'ry Man without *Pension* and *Place* in the Land.

Dear 'Squire, you were wrong to let Bullies alarm ye,
 You may tilt at this rate, with the whole Royal Army:
 Any Scrub, with a Sword, may require t'other Bout,
 And may get a Commission, by fighting *without*.

'Twill be mere Woman's Work, never done, as they
 say;
 Have you reckon'd the Thousands abroad in our Pay?
 Since if *Great Britain's* Troops thro' the Guts cannot
 run ye,
Wolfenbuttle and *Hesse* may be drawn out upon ye.

They

They have Odds then at Sharps, let your Pen make
 them smart,
 For that very Stab pierces home to the Heart:
 Let your Sword rest in Quiet, your Combat has shown,
 Tho' their Weapons are blunt, you may bleed by your
 own.

At least, 'tis beneath you with Vassals to fight,
 Go and enter the Lists, and *Sa Sa* with the Knight;
 Tho' your Conquest will small Satisfaction afford,
 For 'twould vex Friend and Foe, should he die by the
 Sword.

6 MA 50

F I N I S





The LORDS PROTEST

On the Second Rejecting of the Pension-Bill.

Die Martis, Martii 2do, 1730.

HODIE 2da vice lecta est Billa, An Act for making more effectual the Laws in being, for disabling Persons from being chosen Members of, or voting in the House of Commons, who have any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Offices holden in Trust for them, by obliging Persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the Commons in Parliament, to take the Oath therein mentioned.

Proposed to commit the Bill.

After long Debate,

The Question was put, Whether the said Bill should be committed?

It was Resolved in the Negative.

Then the Question was put, Whether the said Bill should be rejected?

It was Resolved in the Affirmative.

Dissentient

1. **B**Ecause the Reasons which were entered on our Journals last Session for the Commitment, and against the Rejection of this Bill, can, in our Judgment, have nothing of Weight said against them, as we think they want little to be added to them; tho' they seem to us to be strengthened on this Occasion, lest our second Refusal to concur with the House of Commons, in what solely
B regards

regards their own Members, and without any Arguments offered to them in a Parliamentary way for that Refusal, should be look'd upon by them as unkind, if not an unprecedented Treatment, and should, in the Opinion of many disinterested Lovers of our ancient Frame of Government, too justly create in them a Resentment that might interrupt the Harmony between the two Houses, which is necessary for carrying on the most important Affairs of the Nation.

2. Because the Commons seem'd to think this Bill is wanted, and we are perswaded it is earnestly desired by the People, and so wisely contrived, by a solemn and strict Oath of Purgation, to guard against secret Corruption in that Place, where, if ever it should be prevalent, its Consequences would be most pernicious and extensive, that we fear we should be exposed to some uncharitable Suspicions, if we did not in this most authentick manner the Constitution of Parliament will allow, from a becoming Zeal to hinder the Infection of so mischievous an Evil from spreading among others, give an undeniable Proof that we are untainted with it our selves.

3. Because a Member of Parliament, who is not asham'd to accept a Gratuity for any Service which he is asham'd publicly to avow, must be conscious to himself (as we fear) that he is guilty of an immoral Action; and therefore we conceive ourselves not only obliged in Policy, but in Conscience, to yield our Assent to a Bill, that, as far as we could apprehend upon the most mature and serious Reflection, contains a proper Expedient in this limited Monarchy, to preserve both the Innocence and Independence of elected Legislators, and that we had reasonable Hopes would, in a great measure, have prevented the Danger of an infamous Breach of a Trust of the highest Nature, reposed in every single Member of the Lower House, for the Benefit of the whole Community, which we think a Crime that ought to be dreaded by us, as *Good Patriots*, and that we are bound to abhor, as *Sincere Christians*.

4. Because we cannot but with Grief of Heart lament the Loss of that Opportunity, which, by enacting this Bill into a Law, we assure our selves his Majesty would have embraced with particular Satisfaction, of demonstrating to all his Subjects, that he is incapable of suffering an improper Use to be made by any of his Servants, of that large Revenue, which a Parliament, liberal beyond any Example of their Predecessors, so chearfully gave him, or of entertaining the least Thought himself to the Prejudice of the Liberties or Properties of his People, by any unjustifiable Influence on their Representatives.

Berkshire	Willoughby de Br.	Bathurst
Bruce	Strafford	Cadogan
Plymouth	Northampton	Bristol
Bedford	Thanet	Coventry
Foley	Warrington	Bridgwater
Gainsborough	Aylesford	Boyle
Gower	Abingdon	Oxf. and Mortim.
Abergavenny	Maynard	Ancafter Gr. Cha.

A BILL for making more effectual the Laws in being, for disabling Persons from being chosen Members of, or sitting or voting in the House of Commons, who have any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Office holden in Trust for them, by obliging Persons hereafter to be chosen to serve for the Commons in Parliament, to take the Oath therein mentioned.

May it please Your most Excellent Majesty,

THAT it may be Enacted, and be it Enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in

this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the 24th Day of *June*, 1731, no Person who shall be elected a Member to serve in the House of Commons, shall vote or sit in the said House, during any Debate there, after the Speaker is chosen, until such Member shall from time to time, and in Manner following, first take the Oath herein after mentioned, and subscribe the same in a Parchment Roll, to be provided by the Clerk of the House of Commons, for that Purpose, *viz.*

“ I *A. B.* do solemnly and sincerely swear, that
 “ I have not directly or indirectly, any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years,
 “ from the Crown, nor any Office in Part, or in the Whole, from the Crown, held for me, or
 “ for my Benefit, by any Person whatsoever: And
 “ I do solemnly and sincerely promise and swear,
 “ that I will not receive, accept, or take directly or indirectly, during the Time of my being a Member of this Parliament, any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any other
 “ Gratuity or Reward whatsoever, or any Office from the Crown, to be held for me, or for my
 “ Benefit in Part, or in the Whole thereof, by any Person whatsoever, without signifying the same
 “ to this House, within Fourteen Days after I have received or accepted the same, if the Parliament
 “ be then sitting, or within Fourteen Days after the next Meeting of the Parliament.” So help me God.

Which said Oath shall be in this and every succeeding Parliament, solemnly and publickly taken and subscribed by every such Member of the House of Commons, at the Table in the Middle of the said House, at the same time that he takes the other Oaths by Law directed to be taken, whilst a full House of Commons is there duly sitting with their Speaker in his Chair.

And be it further enacted, that if any Member so taking the Oath, and subscribing as before directed, shall, at the time of taking the said Oath, have any Pen,

Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any Office from the Crown, in Part, or in Whole, held in Trust for him, or for his Benefit, or shall, during his being a Member of Parliament, accept, receive, or take any Pension during Pleasure, or for any Number of Years, or any other Gratuity or Reward whatsoever, or any Office in Part, or in the Whole, to be held for him, or for his Benefit, from the Crown, without signifying the same to the House, as aforesaid, such Member shall be, and is hereby adjudged and declared to be guilty of Wilful and Corrupt Perjury, and being thereof convicted by due Course of Law, shall incur and suffer the Pains and Penalties which by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm are inflicted in Cases of Wilful and Corrupt Perjury, and shall from thenceforth be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office whatsoever

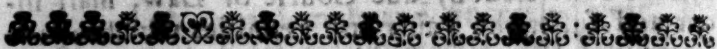
And be it further Enacted, that if any Member elected as aforesaid, shall refuse or neglect to take and subscribe the Oath as before directed, the Place for which such Member was elected, is hereby, without any other Conviction or Proceeding, declared void to all Intents and Purposes, as if such Member was naturally dead.

And be it further Enacted, That in Case any Member shall presume to sit or vote in the House of Commons, after the Speaker is chosen, without taking and subscribing the Oath herein before mentioned, such Member shall forfeit the Sum of Thirty Pounds for each Day he shall sit and vote as aforesaid, to be recovered and received with full Costs of Suit, by him or them, who shall sue for the same, and to be prosecuted by any Action, Suit-Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any of his Majesty's Courts of Record at *Westminster*, wherein no Essoign, Protection, Wager of Law, or more than one Imparance, shall be admitted or allowed; and shall from thenceforth be incapable of taking, holding, or enjoying any Office or Employment of Profit or Trust under his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors.

Provided always, and it is hereby Declared and Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That no Per-

son shall be made liable to any Disability, Incapacity, Forfeiture or Penalty by this Act laid or imposed, unless Prosecution be commenced within one Year next after the Dissolution, or other Determination of the Parliament in which such Disability, Incapacity, Forfeiture, or Penalty, shall be incurred; or, in case of a Prosecution, unless the same be carried on without wilful Delay, any thing herein contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

N. B. *The following Piece should have been printed in Part II. before the PROPER REPLY.*



Sedition and Defamation Display'd.

To the PATRONS of the CRAFTSMAN.

Gentlemen,

AS I am a Member of the Community which you are endeavouring to disturb, a Friend to the Constitution which you are labouring to overturn, and a faithful Subject to the King whom you daily insult, you have no Right to expect a Panegyrick from me: I will therefore deal sincerely with you, by assuring you, that as the Writings you patronize, tho' *Libels*, are no *Satires*; so mine, tho' a *Dedication*, shall be no *Flattery*.

It often happens that Authors do not know their Patrons; if we did, we should not have such Pictures of them, as Dedicators but too frequently exhibit. It is not impossible that I may fall into the same Error; but as the Mode obliges a Writer in this Way to draw some kind of Characters, give me leave to indulge my Fancy in framing such, as may best intitle you to the Honour of patronizing the seditious Labours of Mr. *Danvers*. Nor am I unwilling to allow you the Credit of sometimes
lending

lending a helping Hand to his most remarkable Performances, tho' Modesty may oblige you to conceal your real Names, under the fictitious ones of *Old-castle* or *Trot*.

And I am the rather induced to this, it being so much the modern Fashion to consider *Persons* rather than *Things*, that the good People of *Britain* may be apprized what has been the Provocation to so much inveterate Malice, and unprecedented Scurillity; for *whose* Sakes they are incited to Sedition and Rebellion; and on what mighty Occasion they are thus weekly called upon to hazard their Liberty, Peace, and Prosperity.

Let me then suppose a young Gentleman, coming some time since into the World, with all the Advantages that recommend Men to the Esteem, Favour, and Approbation of Mankind, caress'd and espoused by the *Ministers*, loaded with the Favours of the *Crown*, promoted to some of the most considerable Employments of Honour, Profit, and Trust, and particularly supported by *One*, who heaped upon him all the Obligations that cordial Friendship could ask or give: But being in his own Nature ambitious and aspiring, a Slave to his Passions, impatient and irresolute, unable to bear a Superiority; conceiving unjust Jealousies and Discontents, full of himself, and his own extraordinary Merit, and determined to hold the highest Offices in the State, or to censure and confound *all* the Measures of the Government, under any other *Administration*; he at length renounced at once all former Friendships and Principles, vowing the Destruction of those who had distinguish'd him by a peculiar Regard, betraying private Correspondencies, and endeavouring to distress and disturb *that Prince* and *that Family* to which he owed the highest Obligations.

Let me suppose another Person, whose Parts and Capacity will be as little disputed, as their having been always employed in *Baseness*, *Ingratitude*, and *Treachery*, caress'd, and promoted to an Employment of high Rank, by the *greatest General*, and *greatest Statesman* of their Time; on the first Occasion joining with their Enemies to procure their Downfal: For this *Merit* rewarded by the succeeding *Mini-*

ster with still a greater and more honourable Employment; scarce warm in that Employment, but projecting, and at last procuring, the *Disgrace* of his *new Patron*: Restored to the Liberty of breathing the Air of his native Country, and the Enjoyment of his Fortune (when he was deservedly an Exile from *one*, and had justly forfeited the *other*) by the *Indulgence, Favour and Assistance* of another *Minister*; using that *Indulgence*, and requiring that *Favour*, by labouring the Destruction of his *last Benefactor*: *In the Service* of the Prince who wore the Crown, a zealous *Jacobite*, and Agent of the *Pretender*: *In the Service* of the *Pretender*, a Spy, and Partizan of the Prince who then wore the Crown: In a forlorn State of Despair, abandon'd and discarded by *both*, suing at the same time for Mercy to *both*, at the Expence of *either*, with a natural Byass to serve that Prince *first* whom he had *last* *abjured*, and to distress and undermine him to whom he had *last* sworn Fidelity, and from whom he had received the *last* Obligation.

Let me then suppose *two such Persons, pares cum paribus*, whom a Sympathy of Nature had reconcil'd, and the predominant Principle of endeavouring to raise themselves upon the Ruin of their best Benefactors, had united in the strictest Friendship, Confidence and Intimacy, *joint Patriots*, and Advocates for Liberty, *Partners* in the glorious Work of reforming the State, *Associates* in the great Work of demolishing (not *Dunkirk*, but) the *present Ministry*; *two inseparable Collegues*, ready to take upon them the Care of the Publick, as soon as it shall be put into their Hands. Let me, I say, suppose such Characters, and it is impossible to doubt but this *Dedication* must be due to them.

If *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men that set themselves up for the Guardians of our Liberties; if *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men who think *themselves* at Liberty to vilify and abuse the rest of Mankind; if *these*, and *such as these*, are the Men who would fain be the Rulers of this Nation, and sacrifice the Welfare of the Kingdom, and even the King who sits upon the Throne, to their own implacable Revenge, and boundless Ambition: If
such

such Characters are to be met with, the People of *Britain* will consider, whether 'tis worth while for their sakes to distress or embroil their native Country. But if no such Persons are in Being, this Dedication is thrown away; and it would be in vain to subscribe myself,

Gentlemen,

Your Humble Servant, &c.



SEDITION and DEFAMATION, &c.

IT may appear at first sight a very unnecessary Undertaking, to endeavour to shew the Unreasonableness of attempting to raise Sedition or Rebellion in the Kingdom, which might end in the Subversion of our present happy Establishment, at a Time when the Nation seems in perfect Tranquillity; when our Liberties are preserved sacred and entire; when no Plots at Home, or Invasion from Abroad seem to threaten us; and when the Spirit of *Jacobitism* seems to lie dormant in private Corners, till a more proper Season offers to exert itself. But as there is still a Spirit of Discontent endeavour'd to be kept up and fomented, even in the midst of our Happiness and Tranquillity, by a few base and mercenary Incendiaries, I cannot think it improper, for those who in earnest wish well to this Government and this Nation, to endeavour to apply some Antidotes to that secret Poison they are artfully instilling into more unthinking People, which might otherwise prove fatal, or at least highly prejudicial to the whole Body.

I have passed the greatest Part of the late long Vacation in a Country Retirement; in which Circumstance, the perusing the publick Prints, with which we abound, is an Amusement in which I believe most People find Entertainment; as it gives them some Notion of what is stirring in the active Part of the World, while they are enjoying the Fruits of Peace and Liberty, by the Labours of the Busy and the

the Great: And I can't help observing, that a Man must have a very bad Heart, who envies the Rewards, or hates the Persons of those to whom he is obliged for so invaluable Blessings.

Among the Papers I have constantly perused, are the *Craftsman* and *Fog's Journal*, those infamous Retailers of Lies, Scandal, Sedition, and Treason: At once the Demonstration and the Reproach of that unlimited Freedom we enjoy, and of the Lenity and Goodness of that King and that Government which the Authors are hired to defame. If any of the worthy Authors may be offended at my supposing they are paid for their Labours, let this be my Excuse, that I imagine it impossible for any Man who affects the Name of a Gentleman, to suffer such Obloquy and *Billingsgate* to dropt from his Pen, as he would be ashamed should come from his Tongue, and afraid to utter before his Equals, and much more his Superiors.

I very freely own, that the Manner in which our present political Controversies are handled by the Writers on one Side, has been the chief Motive that induced me to give myself, or the Publick, this Trouble. And as the principal Arguments may be collected into a very narrow Compass, so the Eloquence and Reasoning employed upon them would have been very short, if those concerned in the Dispute would have confined themselves to Matters of Fact, and the true Interest of their Country.

A Man that acts upon honest and sincere Principles, who is in Reality, and not in Pretence only, a *Patriot*, reasons on all publick Occasions with Calmness and Temper, expresses his Fears for the Common-wealth with Hopes that they are groundless, and is ready and desirous to be convinced that his Apprehensions were unnecessary. But it is the direct Reverse with the discontented, disappointed Zealot. The first Step he takes, is to vow Ruin and Destruction to one Man, or to a Set of Men in Power; and then to make use of any Arguments, any Reasons, any Means, any Artifice, to put his rash Vow in Execution. Truth or Falshood are to him Things indifferent, except as to their Tendency to the great Point he has in View. The Welfare
or

or Ruin of his Country bears no Proportion in his Mind, to the Prosperity or Ruin of the Man he hates: He triumphs and rejoices in the midst of civil Discord; and the greatest Pain he is capable of feeling, is when he is sensible of the Peace, the Plenty, the Liberty his native Country enjoys, under the Influence or Administration of the Persons he dislikes.

I am sensible there is no one Man in *England*, how angry soever he may be with the present Ministry, will own the Resemblance of the Picture I have drawn; and I hope for this Advantage from it, that I shall incur no *modern Patriot's* Displeasure. Nay, I will have so much Charity even for the most inveterate of our modern Incendiaries, that I believe at first setting out, they did not design to have run the Lengths that Time and Despair have obliged them to do.

It is therefore very observable by what Steps they have gone on from one Degree of Iniquity to another, and how they gradually inured themselves to write, and the People to read, and endure such traitorous Falshoods, as at first setting out would have been odious and shocking to their Readers, and possibly even to themselves.

Nemo repente fuit turpissimus, was the Saying of a Man who lash'd the Follies and Vices of his Time with great Freedom and Acrimony, and yet he was willing to allow that Alleviation (if indeed it be such) to those whose Crimes he inveigh'd against with most Severity. I can never be convinc'd that any Men, whose Principles and Education proclaimed them to be Whigs, and whose Actions for the first Part of their Lives confirmed that Opinion, could, on any Offence, Disappointment, or even ill Usage, resolve at once to throw themselves into the Arms of those they had opposed; to renounce, vilify, and abuse, not only those particular Persons whom they profess to hate, but all their former Friends, Acquaintance, and Partizans; to traduce and arraign the Majority of both Houses of Parliament, and by Lies, Insinuations, and odious *Parallels*, to endeavour to disturb and reflect on His Majesty and his Government, and, as much as in them lies,

lies, to alienate the Affections of the People from that Illustrious Family, which it is the Characteristic of their former Principles to support and defend. These things, I say, appear to me impossible to be the Effects of one stated Resolution; and yet such *were* the professed Principles, and such is the notorious Practice of the renowned *Authors* of the *Craftsman*, and their open and secret *Patrons* and *Abettors*.

I know very well this will be turn'd into Ridicule by the witty Reasoners of this Age. What! is all this Bustle about the paultry Authors of a Two-penny Paper? Are Mr. *Fogg*, and Mr. *D'anvers*, such dangerous Enemies to the State? Can they raise such Discontents and Sedition, overturn His Majesty's Government, or alienate the People's Affection from His Family? Poor must be the Strength of that Government, and small must be the Affection of that People, which such petty Scribblers have Power to weaken! This I know *will* be said: This I know *has* been said. But this gives me leave to say in Answer; Poor is the Defence this Sarcasm supplies, to such as speak and act in conformity to what *these Scribblers* write. A Body of Men, or the Place they meet in, may be so sacred as to render it improper, if not unsafe, to reflect on, or even to represent what passes there; and yet a Concurrence of Sentiments of a few amongst them may so far dignify these Weekly *Incendiaries*, as to render them worthy of Notice: Nay, I am even apprehensive that Mr. *Oldcastle* and *John Trott*, will be offended at this Excuse, and that the Appellations of *paultry Authors*, and *petty Scribblers*, will be resented by both.

Tho' these Papers being industriously dispersed throughout the Kingdom, are, and have been, of very pernicious Consequence, by impudently asserting Falshoods, somenting Discontents, and instilling groundless and malicious Insinuations into the Minds of unthinking People; especially in remote Parts, where the Opportunities of better Information are wanting; yet, I own, I thought there needed some Apology for taking this Notice of them. Raking in the Dirt, and even removing the Filth they have
thrown,

thrown, is a Task that must be nauseous to any Man that attempts it : And whoever does, runs the Hazard of being sullied himself: But when Gentlemen of Figure and Fortune think fit to patronize and concur in the dirty Work of these Fellows; when they are determined to be taken notice of at any rate, and can find no better way than that of bespatt'ring their Neighbours without Distinction, it in some degree justifies the Undertaking, tho' nothing can render it agreeable.

I shall therefore proceed to consider the Methods made use of to destroy the present Ministry. It was far from being proper to that Purpose to enter coolly into the Debate of the Reasons and Motives for the several Steps taken by the Government, with regard to the publick Affairs of *Europe*. The Interests of Nations, the Cabals of foreign Courts, the Intricacies of Treaties, and the political Secrets or remote Views of other Powers, are of too dry and too abstruse a Nature for their Purpose. The Generality of the People, especially of the inferior sort, seldom enter deeply into Debates of that Nature; or, if they did, have not Opportunity or Capacity to judge so nicely of them, as to engage warmly on a Subject so remote from their usual Employment and way of thinking. While they enjoyed Peace, Liberty, and Plenty, it would be difficult for the most refined Reasoner, or most accomplish'd Author, to inflame them against the Administration, to stir them up against their Representatives, to induce them to revile the whole Legislature, or to incite them to Sedition or Rebellion against his Majesty, from whose Goodness, Candor, and Wisdom, they receive all Blessings. Recourse therefore must be had to other Methods: Every little unavoidable Inconvenience must be aggravated and doubled, every Success either totally deny'd, or lessen'd and ridicul'd: Jealousies and Suspicions must first be invented and rais'd, and then published and cultivated as sacred Truths: The Ministers must be accused of every Crime that the Heart of Man can invent, and compared to every Traytor that this or any other Country ever produced: The Majority of the House of Commons must be describ'd as a Pack of Mercenaries;

cenaries; the whole Bench of Bishops must be stigmatiz'd as Enemies to all Virtue Moral and Divine; nay, the entire Nobility in a Lump devoted to Destruction; the best of Queens must be vilify'd and traduced by these infamous Libellers; and, to compleat their Villainy, the sacred Majesty of the King himself must be insulted, and the Histories of Sedition, Rebellion, Deposition, and Murder, set before Him as Terrors, and Examples. After having given this Abstract of the worthy Labours of our modern Incendiaries, I think I need not add, that thro' the whole Course of their Performances, there must not be the least Regard to Truth, unless in such Instances where it should be carefully avoided. An impudent Face must pass for the Evidence of an honest Heart, a bold Assertion supply the want of Matter of Fact, and a saucy Repetition of the same Falshood be imposed as an undoubted Proof of Veracity.

From these Maxims it is that I conclude, That if these Observations are thought worthy of an Answer, it will consist chiefly in a steady, positive Denial, that these Accusations are true. I shall therefore, as far as I can recollect (not having by me any Collection) from this Load of Infamy and Scandal, give a few Instances of the several Heads above-mentioned. And if I should be called upon to quote Chapter and Verse, I may perhaps endeavour to prevail on a *Jacobite* Neighbour of mine, to procure me a compleat Set of those traiterous Libels from Mr. *Fog* and Mr. *Franklin*, for that Purpose.

The first thing therefore I shall take notice of, is the Pains taken to aggravate every Inconvenience, tho' they are such as must unavoidably attend all Governments; and which no human Prudence can entirely prevent. In the first Place, by daily inveighing against the Load of Taxes which they say the Nation lies under, and by constant unwearied Endeavours striving to make the Populace uneasy, even at the necessary Provisions for the annual Support of the State. The Debt incurr'd for the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties, from the Revolution to this Day, is insinuated as a Charge against the present

present Government; and in a Pamphlet published some time since, and still highly extolled, is asserted to be increased, instead of diminished, even since the Establishment of the Sinking Fund. How the *former* Part of the Charge can be supported, I own myself to be at a Loss to understand; and I think it so absurd, as to be impossible to do the Mischief intended: As to the *latter*, the Falstiy has been so notoriously made appear, upon an accidental Occurrence in the House of Commons, soon after the Publication of that Libel, that I shall take no farther notice of it, except to make this one Observation: That the Author appears to me very imprudent, by having inserted at the end of his most egregious Performance, a List of the several Taxes from the Year 1688; a Period of Time remembered with too much Gratitude and Affection by every honest *Englishman*, to deserve a Reflection or an invidious Comparison with the preceeding Times of Tyranny and Oppression. He that would do Mischief, must pretend at least to be a Friend to our present happy Establishment; and if the Author of that Libel be one, he is the only one that ever was so, and at the same time could asperse the *Glorious Memory* of our *Great Deliverer King William*, by a dirty Insinuation of the Grievousness of those Taxes *He* was unwillingly obliged to ask of this Nation, for their own Welfare and Support.

The next Misfortune to be aggravated and improved, is Losses sustained by our Merchants in the *West Indies*. This is indeed a Misfortune, and such a one as every Inhabitant of *Great Britain* is concerned in. The Merchant does not only trade for his own Profit, but for that of the Nation; and every Individual, who gains but ten Pounds for himself, is so far a Contributor to the Riches of the Kingdom. In this Light the Loss of each Ship is a national Concern, and, as such, it appears it was considered in our late Treaty with *Spain*. All the Provision is there made for Redress, that the Nature of the thing is capable of at present; which I venture to say, because I have asked the most zealous Advocates for the Sufferers, what better Stipulations they could propose, and never heard any mention'd.

mention'd. I have indeed heard a Precedent quoted, of shutting up Commissaries without Victuals, Fire, or Candle, but I presume not as a Proposal to be comply'd with. This is indeed a Misfortune to be lamented, complained of, and if possible to be redress'd; but at the same time not to be aggravated, exaggerated, and made a Handle for Clamour and unreasonable Discontent. An Application to His Majesty from the Persons injured, that Care might be taken of them in the Treaty, would not only have been very proper, but could not have fail'd both of a gracious Answer, and a due Reward from such a Sovereign. A Petition to the Representatives of the People to strengthen the King's Hands on this Occasion, might likewise be very becoming; and when such a one was delivered, an Address was made to the Crown in Consequence of it. These are Methods becoming an honest *Englishman*, and such as no one can find fault with. But tho' these may be sufficient for the honest unfortunate Trader, they are not so far for the factious and discontented. To accomplish their Ends, the Loss of every Ship must be charged as a fresh Crime on the Administration; while *Spain* is at Variance with us, we must be accused as the Aggressors, and having provoked them to do us Mischief; from the Moment they are in *Amity* with the *Nation*, they become the *Enemies* of the *Faction*, and their Guilt is unpardonable. Our real Losses are not sufficient to raise such a Clamour of themselves, as is necessary for their Purpose; so the Eloquence of Mr. *H——* must be employed in every Coffee-house in the City, to display them in their most odious Colours: The Losses of late Years are not a sufficient Load for the present Administration, so a List must be composed of every Vessel taken, from the signing the Peace of *Utrecht* to this Day, in Peace or in War, by Pyrate or *Garde de Costa*, fair Trader or Smuggler, and all must be placed to the Account of the present Ministry. Satisfaction to the Merchant is the least Thing they were anxious for; *that* would put an End to Clamour and Discontent; and their only Hope at present, is the Failure in the punctual Observation of the Articles for that Purpose. These

These are the only real Inconveniencies or Misfortunes that I can recollect, as charged to the Account of the present *Ministers* since the *Hanover* Succession took Place: For I presume the Rebellion in the beginning of the late Reign, and the necessary Expence in suppressing it, will not be brought to their Account. Besides, the chief of the *Faction* were then *Whigs*, and consequently Friends to this Royal Family; what they are at present, let *them* explain; 'tis difficult to do it from their Actions.

From these Inconveniencies therefore, fewer and less considerable than ever attended this Nation for so long a Series of Time, as since his late Majesty's Accession, it appeared difficult, it has proved vain to attempt the Destruction of the Ministers, the only Point in View. However, still to contribute toward it, any Success that may have attended their Counsels, must be lessened and depreiated. The Peace and Tranquillity these Nations have enjoyed during so long a Period of Time, the flourishing State of our Trade in general, except with some small Interruption, the Increase of Riches to the Nation, which appears indisputable from the low Interest of Money, and the prosperous State of publick Credit, are so far from being Matters of Joy and Gratitude, that some are impudently denied, and others represented as the Effects of Pusillanimity, and inglorious to the Nation. Loss of Trade, Difficulties in Credit, and a State of War and Confusion, are the Waters these pretended *Patriots* want to fish in: These they hoped by their pious Endeavours to have made their Harvest; and their Disappointment has driven them to that Degree of Madness, as to deny at Noon-day our Enjoyment of the contrary Blessings. The Suppression of the *Osford* Company, so highly detrimental to our *East-India* Trade, has provoked them to so high a Degree of Indignation, that after having in vain attempted for a Year or two to support the *Emperor's* Right to establish such a Company, now that no longer subsists, the Edge of their Reasoning is turned to the Destruction of our *own*, contrary to the Faith of *Acts of Parliament*, and to the apparent *Hazard*

at least, if not the certain *Ruin* of that beneficial Branch of Commerce. Nay, so inveterate is their Malice, not only to the Ministers, but to every Body of Men, who are either by their Inclination or Interest attach'd to the Support of our happy Establishment, that scarce a Winter passes without some odious Reflections and bitter Invectives against the *BANK of England* itself; a Body of Men, to whose Care and Prudence in their own Affairs, as well as their unshaken Attachment to the true Interest of their Country, and ready Assistance on all proper Emergencies, I have ever thought the Happiness and Prosperity of this Nation in a great measure owing. And to this, and this only, can they owe the Malice of these Incendiaries. Nor have the Proprietors of *South-Sea-Stock* escaped the like Invectives; 'tis Crime enough in them to be *Creditors* to this Government, and consequently depend upon its Security. This must render these great Bodies Friends to the Peace and Tranquillity of the State, and consequently the Factious and Seditious must be Enemies to them. Tho' as to the last of these Bodies, I mean the *South-Sea Company*, the Incendiaries of late seem to make some Overtures of Reconciliation, on a Glimmering of Hope, that by their Means, and with great Industry and Pains, some new unhappy Difference may possibly be brought about between this Nation and our Allies the *Spaniards*. So willing are they to catch at every Twig, that may preserve their poor Spirits from sinking.

Thus far the *Faction* has labour'd in vain. The Ministers still subsist, and no Vacancies are made for their Successors. This cavilling about foreign Politicks, and these unavoidable Inconveniencies have not inflamed the People to call out for a Change of Government; therefore some domestick Grievance must be found out, that may more sensibly affect them. But here is the Difficulty, No such Grievance is really to be found, nor is it easy to invent such a one, as shall gain sufficient Regard, to be of any Service, in Contradiction to the Senses and daily Experience of those who must be made to believe it. His Majesty has graciously declared, that *he will*
make

make the Laws of the Land the Measure of his Government. His Majesty's known Character gives undoubted Sanction to his Word; and the Experience we have had of this Goodness and Justice in this Particular, makes it traiterous to doubt it. What then is to be done? At length this noble Expedient is invented. First, to write and publish seditious and traiterous Libels against the Government, and His Majesty himself, which must necessarily draw down a *just* and *legal* Prosecution of the Authors and Publishers; and then to complain of that just and necessary Prosecution, as an Infringement of the *Liberty of the Press*, and the Right of every *Englishman*. A Design to restrain the Freedom of Writing by some new Law, must first be affirmed as Fact, and then represented as a Grievance: This imaginary *Design* of a Grievance, enlarged into a Breach of *Magna Charta*; and this *imaginary Breach* of *Magna Charta*, is made a real Handle to encourage Sedition and Rebellion. But, alas! the Design lives not but in their own Brains. The Government is not so weak, as to want so extraordinary a Remedy.

I must now take notice of the scurrilous Language, and groundless Aspersions with which these Incendiaries have endeavoured to defame the Ministers. But I presume I shall not be call'd upon for particular Instances to support this Fact: To do that effectually, would be to transcribe their whole Labours for some Years past. Examine every Libel, let the Subject be never so remote, and you may be sure of meeting some *odious Epithet* tack'd to the Word *Minister*, to season the Flatness of the Discourse, and give a Relish agreeable to the Palate of those *who are to pay for the Dispersing of the Poison*. Nor is it at all thought necessary that these *Billingsgate* Appellations should be consistent with each other, much less founded in Truth, or even Probability. Names must be called, no matter what; but the more the better. One Name of Reproach may affect a Reader of *one* kind, and another of *another*. And by the Help of this universal Catalogue of Slander, no Man can want a proper Appellation

to stigmatize the Person he wishes to abuse. Thus, *avaritious* and *expensive*, *enterprizing* and *cowardly*, *bold* and *fearful*, *ignorant* and *cunning*, seem to be at first Sight somewhat inconsistent and contradictory; and yet, by a little Artifice, and a great deal of Impudence, they are all made to centre in the same Person. But the *two* favourite Epithets of the whole Collection are *corrupt* and *blundering*; and as they are so often repeated, deserve a little more particular Regard.

I believe no body will deny that for some time past, there has not been wanting a hearty Goodwill, utterly to disgrace and destroy those Ministers who are thus abused. It will likewise be readily granted, that among those who wish their Destruction, *nay, and have vowed it too*, there are not wanting Men of great Parts and Abilities, versed in the Ways of Business, acquainted with Courts, and not ignorant of Mankind. Can it then be doubted that they are at a loss for the most speedy and effectual Method to accomplish their Designs? Can they have a Doubt within themselves that one or more apparent Proofs of this heavy Charge of *universal Corruption*, would contribute more to the attaining of their Ends, than Volumes of Papers, or the most labour'd Harangues without it can possibly do? Can they be so ignorant of His Majesty's own Honour and Integrity, as to doubt that such a Proof is the readiest Way to remove the Ministers from His Favour? Or can they believe, that He is so weak, or any Number of Men so credulous, as to be convinced without it? What then must every impartial Man think of this Charge! He must immediately conclude it proceeds from Malice, and is a groundless Slander.

All that I have ever heard alledged in Excuse for not producing any Evidence to support this Accusation, is, That the Times are improper; that those who ought to remedy this Evil are sharers in the Guilt, and those who ought to cure the Disease, are themselves infected with the Distemper. Poor and low is this Subterfuge! Bold and daring is the Insinuation! His Majesty can remedy this Evil were he con-

convinced of the Truth : Is he therefore such a Sharer in the Guilt of his Servants, that these *honest, honest IAGO's* dare not acquaint Him with their Crimes? This with one Voice they will disclaim: And yet with an Assurance little inferior, affect to lay it at the Door of the Body of the Legislature ; traducing at once a Number of Peers and Gentlemen, much their Superiors, and Betters, in the Eyes of all the World, but their own.

Now let me ask, What is the Mischief could attend these Accusers, were the *Accusation proved*, and the Accused *unjustly acquitted*, according to their invidious Insinuation? None certainly. This *they know*; and from this *we know*, that their Excuse is false, and their Accusation groundless. What then must those *Incendiaries* be, who without Foundation, and without *Remorse*, go on thus to vilify and abuse, not the Ministers only, but the whole Legislature? He that calls another a *Villain*, ought to be ready to prove it, or the Scandal will recoil. He that can bring Proof of a Crime against the State, and conceals it, is guilty of *Misprision* at least of the same offence : If he knows it, he ought to declare it; but if he knows it not, and yet proclaims it as Fact, he is a *false Slanderer*, and, as such, the Pest of Society.

The other Epithet which I have engaged to take particular Notice of, as being of late inseparable from the Word *Minister*, is *Blundering* : And I own it fills me with Astonishment, when I consider how very low human Nature may be reduced by the Effects of Rage and Despair. How far the Principles of Honour may engage some Men not to blast the Reputation of others with whom they have lived in Friendship, I will not determine; in that Case some Regard ought to be shewn to their own Character, lest the World should imagine they had formerly been Sharers in the Guilt of those with whom they lived in Amity : But if this could be got over, yet every Man is fond of his own Understanding; and I should imagine, for the sake of that, would be unwilling to own that he had been the profess'd *Friend and Follower* of a Fool or a Blockhead. For how long a Term of

Years have these Railers been proud of fighting under the Banner of those they now traduce? And would they now persuade the World they are able to instruct their Masters? Men may be deceived in the Choice of their Friends; but 'tis hard to determine him immediately to be a *Fool*, some of whose Dependants may prove to be *Knaves*. And yet *this* is the *only* Instance by which they can pretend to verify their Imputation. In short, it would be as impertinent a Piece of Flattery in me, to attempt to vindicate the Understanding of those they thus abuse, as it is superlative Assurance in them to endeavour to lessen it, in contradiction to their *own Knowledge*, and that of all the World: They may swell, if they please, like the Toad in the Fable, but will find no more Compassion from Mankind when they burst, than the poisonous Animal they resemble.

I should now take some notice of that private Scandal, and personal Abuse, in which they have dealt so largely, and so infamously, not with regard to Persons of high Stations, but some of inferior Rank and Degree: But as *Billingsgate* of that Nature, puts the Person that uses it on a level with a Porter, he ought to be despised as such; and the threshing a Printer adds but little Credit to the Character of a Gentleman.

The Attacks against the Ministers being still ineffectual, their Opponents are reduced to consider how it happens, that these ignorant *Blunderers* have been able to stand their Ground, against the Opposition of such able and infallible Politicians as themselves. At last, with much Labour and Study they discovered, that the two Houses of Parliament are Friends to the present Establishment, approve the Measures which his late and present Majesty have pursued, and don't pay that Deference and Regard they ought to do to these accomplish'd Statesmen. Since therefore they can't prevail with the Representatives of the People to distress the King, they must endeavour to inflame the People against their Representatives. In order to this they have pitch'd upon two Expedients, one of them ridiculous and absurd, and the other base and unmannerly. Can the

the Electors of *Great Britain* take it as a Compliment, to be told, they have chosen Persons whose Principles they dislike, from mercenary Views and private Advantages? Or will they not rather think it shameful that *they* must be abused, because the Gentlemen they have chosen, are not mean and weak enough to assist in carrying on the mercenary Views, and private Advantages of these ambitious Revilers? How short-liv'd were the Hopes of Mr. *D'auvers*, when he flatter'd himself with the Disappointment those Gentlemen would meet with, whom his Majesty honour'd with Marks of his Favour at the End of last Session? The unanimous Voice of their Electors restored them to the Capacity of serving their Country in Parliament, and consequently of rendering the most acceptable Service that can be shewn to such a King, by contributing their Endeavours for the Good of his People.

This brings me to the next Expedient, which is to make the Representatives odious, by insinuating that they are as mercenary and corrupt, as they before described their Electors. And this from one single Reason, because some of those who are thought worthy by the People to take the Charge of their Welfare in *Parliament*, are likewise thought worthy by their Prince to be trusted with some Share of the Civil Government, to which Profit may be annex'd. How base is this Maxim, how false is the Conclusion! Is our Common-wealth so formed, that the Service of the King and of the People is inconsistent? Is the Throne filled with such a Prince, that obeying his Commands, and protecting the Liberty of the Subject are incompatible? Or should that ever be the Case, which it is almost infamous even to suppose, what Inducement have these Incendiaries to imagine, that Men of Honour would sacrifice the Liberties of those they represent, to little transitory Advantages for themselves? But alas! Men are too apt to judge of others by the Experience of the Disasters of their own base Hearts. If then there are any such, who appear'd zealous in the Cause of Liberty with Expectation of Reward; if they pursued the same Course while they enjoyed the Sun-shine of

the Court; if the Price of the Continuance of the same Zeal be notoriously known, and *that* being refused, if the Experience of their Actions, in Contradiction to the whole Tenor of their former Lives, explains the Reason of their former Behaviour; if there be any such, it is not to be wonder'd that they should labour to bring down the rest of Mankind to the Level of their own Infamy. Till when, they must be content to undergo the Contempt and Scorn of the old Friends they have forsaken, and be made the Ridicule, as well as the Todds, of the new ones they would fain engage.

Having thus endeavour'd to blast the Honour of the House of Commons, these *Incendiaries* proceed to the other Branch of the Legislature. But here the *Pack of Judges*, as they are civilly pleased to call them, must be attacked by the way; and the *Bench of Bishops* must be singled from the rest of that noble Body, to receive particular Marks of their Resentment. Nor need any Man be at a Loss for the Reasons of this Procedure, who considers the uniform Tenor of all their Actions. As the foreign *Enemies* of the State, have been all along the *Favourites* of the *Faction*, and the *Allies* of this Nation been treated as *their Enemies*; so, to be conformable in domestick Affairs, they have ever shown their greatest Malice against such as are the chief Ornaments of their Profession, and do the most Credit to the Stations they possess. Thus their Rage against the Judges proceeds from their Anger, that the known Abilities of those who now fill the Bench, their great Experience in the Laws, and their just and equitable Execution of them, give not the least room for complaining of Oppression, and consequently no Handle to the Incendiaries to encourage Sedition. From the like Foundation proceeds their Displeasure against the Bench of Bishops; as their Learning and Piety give no room to complain of the Choice their late and present Majesties have made in their Promotion, so the steady Affection they have shewn to the State, leaves the Faction no Hopes of Clamour and Sedition from that Quarter, which has formerly been so serviceable on the like Occasions. Nor does their Malice stop here; but as the Authors
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of the *Craftsman* have recommended to the People, to follow the Precedent that was put in Practice against the *De Wits* in *Holland*, by assassinating our Ministers here; so their Fellow-labourer *Fogg* has given the like infamous Advice with regard to the whole Body of the Peerage. Thus have these *Incendiaries*, in a most flagitious manner, endeavour'd to incite others, as profligate as themselves, to destroy the Persons of those, whose Reputations they have with so much Zeal, but with so little Success, attempted to murder.

While the Faction went on in practising the little Arts of antiquated Prudes, and endeavour'd to establish a Reputation of their own, by destroying that of all their Friends and Acquaintance; the natural Curiosity of Mankind, and the Bent we may observe in most People to desire to see their Superiors of any Kind reduced to a Level with themselves, made these Libels be read with some Degree of Patience. That Great and Good Man, Lord Chief Justice *HALE*, on the Loss of some of his Children, when he was himself in a very advanc'd Age, observ'd with great Patience and Humility, that such Losses are *Fines* Mankind must pay to Heaven for the Blessing of long Life: And we may with as great Justice pronounce, that *Obloquy* and *Slander*, *Envy* and *Malice*, are the Evils which Ministers must endure, as necessary Attendants of a long Series of Favour and Prosperity. As such they consider'd them, and as such they despised them. It is not the Accusation, but the Truth of it, which gives the Wound; and an innocent Man feels no more Pain from the publishing a false Slander, than the Slanderer gains Credit by inventing the Falshood.

Thus these *Libels* were tolerated and endured; the Envious and the Malicious read them with Pleasure, the Indolent and Unwary with Patience. The Professions of Loyalty to the King, and Attachment to his illustrious House, might for a while impose on the giddy Multitude; and the secret, villainous Designs of these *Incendiaries* pass undiscovered. Men might consider the Controversy as a Dispute, between private Persons for Power, tho' even

even that was carry'd on in a shameful and ungentleman-like Manner. But now the thin Veil of Loyalty is thrown off, and Sedition and Treason stalk abroad in their own odious Colours, Men begin to be astonish'd how they could thus long have been deceived with idle Pretences to *Patriotism* and the *Love of Liberty*; when they see the Reigns of the worst of Tyrants, produced as *Parallels* to the best of Kings; when they see the Arts of Peace represented as the Effects of Pusillanimity, tho' practised merely for the Welfare of his People, by a Prince distinguished throughout *Europe* for his military Virtue; when they see the Struggles our Ancestors have made for their Liberties by Force of Arms, against the Usurpations of arbitrary Tyrants, recommended as Examples for our Imitation, against a Prince who knows no Fear but that of injuring the least of his Subjects; when they see the Reigns of the weakest of our Princes compared to that of his present Majesty, who hears indeed the Advice of his Ministers, but whose own Judgment can best chuse, and whose own Heart is most strongly inclined to follow that which is most for the Ease and Welfare of his People; when this King is threatened with Sedition and Rebellion, unless he forthwith discharges those Counsellors he at present trusts, and whom he has ever found faithful, in order to place the *Patrons* of those Incendiaries in their room; when these things appear flagrant, and are obvious to the meanest Capacities, Mankind are shock'd, not only at the Impiety, but Impudence of these abandon'd *Pretenders* to superior Virtue. Even the Envious and Malicious begin to fear what may be their Share of the Miseries these Wretches are labouring to bring upon their Country; the Curious and Inquisitive are no longer at a Loss to find out their Designs, and consequently no longer believe their groundless Insinuations; the Honest, the Indolent, and the Unwary, are roused from their Security, and a just Indignation makes them concern'd that our excellent Laws should prove a Sanctuary for these artful Revilers and hypocritical Dispersers of Treason.

One Set of Men indeed there are among us, who rejoice in the Treason, tho' they despise the Traytors; their drooping Spirits are again reviv'd; those who were before despised and almost forgotten, who were in their own Country as Strangers and Vagabonds in a foreign Land, after many fruitless Struggles to subje& their Country to a strange and vagabond Prince, begin again to triumph and exult; and to their usual Impatience and imprudent Zeal, I am verily persuaded it is we owe the immature Discovery of the secret Engagements these pretended Patriots must have enter'd into. The Assistance of the Jacobites must be made Use of by them, to mount those Heights which their boundless Ambition prompted them to climb; but that Assistance was not to be had, till the *Rubicon* was pass'd, and their Retreat made impracticable. The Jacobites refused to receive these Incendiaries or their Patrons, as *their new and firm Allies*, till they had given convincing Proofs, (to use an Epithet of the *Craftsman*) that they were not so far Germaniz'd, as to submit any longer to that Family, whom they treat as *Tyrants and Usurpers*.

As Prudence ought to have restrained these Incendiaries from vilifying their lawful Sovereign, so ought Shame to forbid them insulting and calumniating the best of Queens: But as the whole Tenor of their Conduct must have convinced the World how little Share they have of the former, so this barbarous Part of their Proceeding, has shewn, to a Demonstration, how entirely lost they must be to all Sense of the latter. Their Behaviour in this Respect is indeed shocking, but very far from surprizing. Can *they* be touch'd with her exalted Piety in refusing the Grandeur of this World for the sake of true Religion, who have sacrificed all the Ties of Honour and Conscience to their own boundless Ambition? Can *they* be Admirers of her social Virtues, and inviolable conjugal Affection, who have renounced the Welfare of the Society they live in, and the most sacred Bonds of Friendship? Can *they* look with Pleasure on her maternal Love, and pious Care in the Education of her numerous Offspring, who are themselves regardless of the Welfare of their own, provided

provided they can satisfy their immediate Thirst of Power or of Revenge? In fine, can *they* who are thus labouring to disturb the Reign, and destroy the Quiet of their King, bear with Patience, that the least Regard should be shewn to her Majesty, whose Interest as well as Inclination must necessarily bind her to contribute her Endeavours to make the Crown sit easy on his Head, whose Image she wears in her Heart, and to transmit it with Safety and Honour to their joint Posterity.

After these Reflections on the extraordinary Methods by which these Disputes have been carried on, I will only say a Word or two as to what these *Libellers* alledge in their own Vindication; and I think they offer but two Arguments for that Purpose: The first is, That the Spirit of Liberty, which they profess, and the glorious Struggles to preserve that Liberty in former Ages, are the Things to which we owe our present Felicity, and therefore proper to be recommended at this Time. The second, which they alledge in Justification of the personal Insults and Invectives, against particular Persons, is drawn from the Examples of former Pamphleteers, of which Number they sometimes intimate the Persons they traduce to have been a Part.

As to the first Argument they produce, it cannot be denied but that the Spirit of Liberty is the distinguishing Characteristick of a *True Briton*, and to that we owe the superior Advantages this Nation enjoys above all the Kingdoms of the Earth. But there is a wide Difference between the Spirit of *Liberty* and the Spirit of *Sedition*. One is indeed jealous of the least Invasion of our civil or religious Rights, and ready on all Occasions to exert with Courage and Vigour against all Attempts to subvert and destroy them: But tho' she be thus bold in Times of Danger, she is of a meek and quiet Disposition, while we enjoy those Blessings in Peace and Tranquillity; submissive to the Laws of the Land, and obedient and thankful to the Prince, by whose Goodness and Wisdom these Blessings are secured. On the other hand, the Spirit of Sedition is ever suspicious and uneasy without a Cause, loud and clamorous in the midst of Peace and Prosperity; pays an unwilling

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Obedience to the Laws, and is never so unhappy as when she can have no Pretence to murmur against the Prince: The Man possessed with this Spirit, must needs be unhappy, whilst he has no Relish of the Blessings he enjoys himself, under an Apprehension that his Neighbour is greater and happier than he. The Distinction that has been frequently made between a Man of true Honour and a Bully, seems very apposite on this Occasion. The *Man of Honour* is incapable of bearing to be insulted, but is not like the *Bully*, apprehensive of it from every Man he meets: He is conscious of his own inward Courage on a proper Occasion, and this renders him peaceable and quiet in Company, without bragging of his Prowess; he is ready and willing to resent an undeserved Affront, but is studious and careful to avoid deserving it, by a turbulent and unmannerly Behaviour; and tho' he be never so skilful in the Management of his Sword, yet he lets it lie quiet in the Scabbard, till his King, his Country, or his Honour demand it, and does not make a Flourish at the Corner of every Street, like one of the Heroes of *Figg's Amphitheatre*.

The glorious Struggles for Liberty which we read in our Histories, will ever be remember'd with Honour to the Persons concerned in them, and with Pleasure by all those who enjoy the happy Consequences of them as they ought. But tho' on proper Occasions, it may be necessary to use so harsh a Remedy, yet 'tis the Occasion only can justify the Prescription. A nauseous Draught, or an acute Operation, may be absolutely requisite in a dangerous Distemper; and the Physician, who by these Means restores his Patient to his former Health of Constitution, will ever be remember'd with Gratitude and Esteem: But it would be difficult for a Quack, who acts like a Monkey, merely from Imitation, to prevail upon any Person in perfect Health, to receive his daily Food out of an Apothecary's Shop, and be cupp'd and scarify'd every Morning, by way of Prevention. No Man in *Britain* is more sensible of the Blessings we enjoy in consequence of the late glorious Revolution, or is more thankful to that

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Providence, and those noble Patriots by whom it was effected, than myself; But I am far from thinking him a *Patriot* who desires *another Revolution*; and that *he* certainly does, who attempts to raise Discontent, Sedition, and Rebellion, at a Time when we are blessed with the full Enjoyment of our Civil and Religious Liberties, under a Prince who owes his Title to that glorious Event, and gives us daily Cause to shew our Gratitude, not only to himself, but to the Memory of our late *Immortal Deliverer*.

Whoever reads the History of *England*, will find we have had many Struggles, and much Bloodshed, which cannot be placed to the Account of a *Spirit* of Liberty: Where Power was contended for more than Property, and the Dispute was who should oppress, rather than who should relieve their Countrymen from Oppression. Such were the Contests between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; and such were many of the Struggles in former Ages, which took their Rise from the Disappointment, Ambition, and Revenge of some of the powerful and haughty Nobles of those Days. If any Struggles then are to be recommended, I would be glad to know of what Nature those are, the Authors of the *Craftsman* would propose for our Imitation: It cannot be any of those glorious ones in behalf of Liberty, for *that* we enjoy in the highest Degree: Those about a contested Title to the Crown, whatever their real Wishes may be, I am apt to believe they will be very cautious how they recommend: And as to the last of those I mentioned, I can never believe there is Vanity enough in any one Man, or any Set of Men, to imagine that the good People of *England* would stir a little Finger in order to make a Struggle to gratify the Ambition or Revenge of the most haughty among them. The *Strugglers* of former Days were not only *haughty*, but noble, and powerful; great in their Descent, their Alliances, and Possessions; a kind of petty Princes themselves, whose Tenants and Vassals were obliged by their Tenures to attend their Persons, and obey their Commands, without enquiring into the Motives: But, Thanks be to God, the Nature of those Tenures is now at an End, and every *Briton* may call what he has his own, without that

that slavish Dependence on the Caprice of another. Since therefore the Noble and the Powerful are out of the Question, and Wit and Parts are their only Weapons and Defence, I would advise the Authors of the *Craftsman*, not to expect too many Followers of the Haughty, the Ambitious, and the Revengeful. And I cannot frame to myself a more ridiculous Idea, than to see the *Wat Tylers* and *Jack Straws* of our Days, strutting and swelling till they fancy they resemble the *Northumberlands* and *Warwicks* of old, and that they can, like them, make and unmake Kings at their Pleasure.

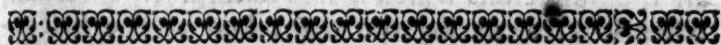
I now proceed to the other Argument they use in Justification of personal Insults, and private Scandal, which they draw from the Example of former Pamphleteers. I allow, that in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James the Second*, great Liberties were taken with the Persons in Power, and even with the Prince on the Throne: Nay, even at the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, the Pamphlets abounded in very great Freedoms with regard to her Ministers: But those Freedoms extended no farther than to the Measures they pursu'd, and sprung from the just Dread and Apprehensions the People of *England* were under of the Ruin that was coming upon them. When the Fears of Popery and arbitrary Power were so strong, it was no Wonder the Expressions of those who were endeavouring to alarm the People, and encourage them to resist their Enslavers, were strong in Proportion to the Danger. Thanks be to God, it had its Effect, and the People had the Courage to oppose the Tyrant, and bring about the Revolution. But the Authors of the *Craftsman* must first shew the like Cause of Apprehension, and own the *like Design*, before they will be justify'd by what passed in *those* Reigns, for having in a more outrageous manner calumniated *this*. In the latter End of Queen *Anne's* Reign the same dreadful Apprehensions arose; and I believe there is hardly a Man that remembers those Times, but is convinced there was as much Foundation for them: Then again the *Spirit* of Liberty arose, and those who were endeavouring to destroy us were treated as our Destroyers. But the *Craftsman* must again

again shew the Parallel, or go without his Justification. To my Apprehension it seems the Reverse, and as the Pamphleteers of those Days endeavour'd to alarm the People from the Danger they were in lest the *Hanover Succession* should not take place, the Labours of the *Craftsman* appear to be all pointed to convince them that they cannot be worse than now *that Succession* has happily taken place. But having said thus much partly by way of Defence, or rather Excuse, for the Freedoms that have been formerly taken, I think I may venture to say, that I could undertake to produce more scurrilous Language, more private Scandal, and more ungentleman-like Abuse, out of the Libels of the Three or Four last Years, than can possibly be shewn in all the polemical Writings of the three Reigns I have mentioned.

And this being the Case, I beg leave to say a Word or two of what I take to be the real Cause of this different Manner of treating political Controversies. It has been long the Misfortune of this Nation to be divided into Parties, which have been at Variance with each other on account of some Principles; each of which have been all along represented by the other in the most invidious Lights. And as most of the political Disputes have been managed by those who thus differ'd; so most of the Satire and Reflection has been levelled at the opposite Party, and their Tenets in *general*, rather than at the Persons or Crimes of *particular* Men. But the Case at present is widely different: Our modern Disputes have risen, and been managed by those, who publickly at least, profess the same Principles with those they oppose, and consequently can have no Dislike to them on that account. What then must they do to justify their Opposition? Their private Motives are perhaps unfit to be mentioned, or perhaps would not redound to their Honour: and thus a fatal Necessity has driven them into a Method, which I am persuaded many of them dislike in their Hearts; and they are forced by personal Abuse, and private Scandal, to justify their differing, not only from their former Friends, but from their own former Conduct and Behaviour: And I can't help pitying the Case of a Man of Sense, who is reduced so low,

low, as to be capable of so much Meanness, as to mention on any Occasion the Loss of a *Tooth*, or an ungenteel *Cock* of a *Hat* as an Objection to a Minister.

This Proceeding may be treated with Pity or Contempt; but when these Incendiaries are grown so audacious to go farther, and justify their own Conduct by Insults and Reflections on their Prince; when they are daily labouring to incense the People, and involve Numbers in the Guilt of their own seditious Practices, Indignation ought to take place of Pity, and they ought to be punish'd instead of despis'd. The more daring and Insolent the Enemies of the Government appear, the more ought the real Friends of it to unite and exert: And as all I have said has arisen from a real Sense of my Duty to my King and my Country; so I shall look upon my self as amply rewarded, if any thing I have said can contribute to give the alarm to any one *English* Gentleman, to warn him of the Danger these Incendiaries are unawares leading the People into, by insensibly endeavouring to lessen the Honour and Duty they owe to so good a Prince; and preparing their Minds for such Seditions and Tumults, as the Artful and the Profligate shall think it their Interest to foment.



The CRAFTSMAN of May 22, 1731.

Mr. D'ANVERS,

SINCE you have gone through the Task, which you undertook at my Desire, and have carried your *Remarks on the History of England* as far as you judge them necessary at this Time, I think my self obliged to return you Thanks for your Trouble, and to say something to you concerning the Clamour rais'd, and the Conduct held upon this

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Occasion, by *Those*, who not content with the Merit of being your *Adversaries*, have declared themselves such at last to the very Being of the *British Constitution*, and to the Principles on which the *present Establishment* is built, and on which alone it can stand secure.

Before I left the Town, nay, as soon as my *first Letter* to you appeared, the whole Possè of *ministerial Scribblers* was summoned. Their Numbers were augmented; perhaps their Pensions. Their Strength, indeed, continued much the same; but their Fury redoubled. At my Return to *London*, I am inform'd, that these *weekly Swarms* have continued to buz about ever since; that the *Insects* have been dispersed by every Flap of your Pen; but that, like *true Insects*, they have still gather'd again, and renewed their Din.-----I say, that I am inform'd of This; because, among other Circumstances, which compose the Ease and Quiet of a Country Life, we are sure of not being infested there by these mighty Swarms of *little Creatures*. As their Lives are short, the Extent in which they ramble is narrow, and few of them take their Flight beyond the Bills of Mortality.

The Manner in which *these Writers* have supported the Dispute between *You* and *them*, and the Explanations to which they have been push'd, confirm all the Suspicions which it was natural to entertain, when so great an Alarm was taken at the first direct Avowal of an Attempt to revive the *Spirit of Liberty*, and to recall to the Minds of Men the true Notions of the *British Constitution*. They were so earnest to discourage the Prosecution of such a Design; They were so eager to find Fault, where so little Fault was to be found, that they catch'd at every Word in which they imagin'd the least Slip had been made, though the Subject would not have been affected, nor the Merits of the Cause have been altered, if these Slips had been real, and had proceeded from my Ignorance, as the Objections proceeded from theirs.

I should not so much as mention this, if it was not necessary to shew that your real Crime, as well as mine, toward the *Persons* who encourage and direct

direct *those Authors*, is our starting the *Subject*, not our *Manner* of treating it. Their Anger appeared, the Clamour of their Party was raised, and all the Powers of Scurrility and Calumny were call'd forth to their Aid, before any of those Pretences were found out, which they afterwards so meanly and so immorally employ'd against us. To prove this beyond the Contradiction of any Man of Sense and Candour, it will be only necessary to appeal to the whole Scope of my *first Letters* to you, which raised the Storm; for what do *those Letters* contain besides general and inoffensive Reflections on the Nature of *Liberty* and of *Faction*, and of the Necessity of keeping the *Spirit of Liberty* alive and active, even in Times of apparent Security? Your Writings were justified, indeed, in *these Letters*; but so they had been in *others*, and on many precedent Occasions. The Charge of *Jacobitism* was refuted, indeed, with the Contempt it deserved, and *factionous Designs* of another Kind were pointed out; but *factionous Designs* had been imputed to the *same Persons* before, and upon the same Ground. It remains then, that this *new Alarm* was taken, as I just now said, at the general Design of *those Papers*; and if that was sufficient to give such an Alarm, sure I am, that you are more than justified for all you writ before this Dispute begun, and for all you have published in the Course of it.

The old Gentleman, who defended you in your former *Letters*, thought you deserved the Acknowledgments of every honest Man, for attempting to revive *this Spirit*, even supposing you to have no other Reason than your Observation, that a *contrary Temper* prevailed. How much is this Reason inforced, how much more do you deserve the Acknowledgment of every honest Man, if it is become evident, not only that a *supine Temper*, contrary to the Activity of *this Spirit* had prevailed; but that a *contrary Spirit* hath been raised, and that *Principles*, destructive of all *Liberty*, and particularly adapted to destroy that of the *British Government*, are avowed, taught and propagated?---- If I pronounced too hastily in my *second Letter*, that the *Mask was pulled off*, surely we may now say, upon

Knowledge, not Belief, *that the Mask is fallen off from your Adversaries* in the Scuffle. I shall not repeat what is said in your Discourses, nor add any thing to them. You have there quoted the *Doctrines of Slavery*. You have shew'd the direct and indirect Tendency of them all; and you have remark'd that *some* of them have been taught even by *Those* who have in the same Breath admitted the *Consequences* of them. Nothing less therefore than a *constant* and *vigorous Opposition*, of which you have set us the Example, will be able to stop the Progress of those *pernicious Doctrines*. The *Principles* which King *James I.* established, were not more absurd than *these*. Their Tendency was more obvious; but, for that Reason they were less dangerous. If *those Principles* prevail'd very far by Time and Encouragement, and had like to have prevail'd farther; why should not *these* have the same or greater Success? It may be said, perhaps, that the Authority of the *Crown* help'd the Progress of the *former*, which is not our *present Case*. To this Distinction I shall submit very readily; but if *these Principles* have gain'd some Ground already (and that they have gain'd some, cannot be deny'd) without *this Authority* to enforce them; is there not Reason to fear that they may gain more, and is not every Degree they gain, a Degree more of Danger to this Constitution of Government?—Surely Mr. *D'Anvers*, there can remain no Doubt in the Breast of any Man, who hath given the least Attention to the Disputes between *You* and your *Adversaries*, whether *They* or *You* are on the Side of *Liberty*; and therefore it is an Aggravation of their Guilt, that they have endeavoured to make *your Writings* pass for an Opposition to the *present, happy Establishment*, and their *Cause* for that of the *Crown*. You and I have sufficiently declared our selves, and answered them on the *first Head*. If they had been able to produce an Instance, where, departing from your *Subject*, you had given Occasion to draw any *odious Parallel*, the Intention of drawing such a *Parallel* might with some Colour have been imputed to You; but since they have not been able to do this, and have been defied to do it, the Reproach and Infamy of making *such*
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Parallels, as well as the scandalous Immorality of imputing them to others, must lye at their Door.---- Let us see how well their Pretensions are supported on the *second Head*, and whether we cannot prove, without any forc'd Constructions of their Words, or arbitrary Interpretations of their Meaning, that the open and secret Abettors of *these Writers* are either Enemies of the *present Establishment*, or have some *private Interest* more at Heart than the true Interest of *this Establishment*.

This Establishment is founded on the Principles of *Liberty*; on the very Principles you have maintained. It was made by the People of *Great Britain*, to secure the Possession of their *Liberty*, as well as their *Religion*. Had contrary Principles prevail'd; either those, which tend to subvert the Constitution, by raising *Prerogative*, and which were justly objected to some of the *Tories* formerly; or those which tend to subvert it, by undermining *Liberty*, and which are as justly objected to some of the *Whigs* now; *this Establishment* could never have been made. Who are *Enemies* and who are *Friends* therefore to *publick Liberty*, and to the *present Establishment*? Are you their Enemy, who defend not only the general Principles of *Liberty*, but the particular Principles, and the particular Ends, on which, and for which *this Establishment* was made? Are your *Adversaries* Friends to either, when they only seem to admit some general Notions of *Liberty*, that they may promote with greater Effect, on particular Occasions, the Doctrine of *Slavery*; and when they endeavour to destroy the Principles, and defeat the Ends of the *present Establishment*? The *Revolution*, and the *Acts of Settlement*, have secured us against the Dangers which were formerly apprehended from *Prerogative*. To what Purpose are *Measures*, and Principles of *Policy* daily pleaded for, which would expose us to greater Danger than *these*? Why are such incessant Pains taken to shew by what Means *Liberty* may be undermin'd, and our *Constitution* destroyed, even now, after all we have done, and all we have suffered to secure *one*, and to improve the *other*? I shall not give particular Answers to these Questions; nor offer to assign the private Inter-

rest, which the *Persons*, who are guilty of this, may have at Heart; for I will upon no Occasion, even seem to follow the Example of your *Adversaries*; nor presume to deliver my Suspicions, tho' real and well grounded, as the Intentions of other Men. This alone I will repeat; that they who argue, and hire others to argue in this Manner, do in Fact promote some Interest, which is repugnant to the Ends for which the People of this Nation establish'd the *Protestant Succession*, and the present *Settlement of the Crown*. They have not yet attack'd the *Religion*, but they manifestly attack the *Liberty* of their Country; and as much as these Two are interwoven together, though it be true, that whenever our *Religion* is in Danger, our *civil Liberty* must be so likewise; yet it is as true that *Religion* may be safe and *civil Liberty* in Danger.

I have nothing more to add upon *this Head*, before I proceed to That, which shall conclude my Letter, except my Desires that you will persist, and my Hopes that you will succeed in the *Cause* you have undertaken; the Cause of your *Country*; the Cause of *Truth* and of *Liberty*. The Means you employ are those of *Argument* and *Persuasion*; the lawful, and the sole lawful Means, which can be employed to rouse an indolent, to inform a deceived, to reclaim a corrupt, or to reconcile a divided People. Let the *Faction* continue to assert, as they have had already the Impudence and the Folly to do, in one of their *ministerial Pamphlets*, that the Faults they are pleased to ascribe to the People of *Great Britain* * render an *ARMY* necessary. Instead of endeavouring to *persuade* and to *win*, let them endeavour to *force* and *corrupt* their Countrymen. The *Spirit of Liberty* abhors such Means, and the *Cause of Liberty* would be dishonour'd by them. If this Nation was as *corrupt* and *depraved* as it is said to be by *Those*, who do their utmost to *corrupt* and *deprave* it; if our Country was in that *declining State*, and the *Freedom of the Government* as near its Period as they affirm, there would remain no Part for any honest Man

* See *Some Observations on the present State of Affairs.*

Man to take, except that of sitting silently down and perishing in the common Shipwreck : But surely this is not yet our Case, nor will it become our Case, unless we are induced to believe it so ; unless we make our Ruin irretrievable by struggling no longer against it. There are Men, many we think, who have not bowed the Knee to *Baal*, nor worshipp'd the *brazen Image*. We may therefore hope that there is still a Blessing in Store for us. In all Events, Mr. *D'Anvers*, you are sure of one Advantage, which no Violence, no Injustice can take from you ; the inward Satisfaction of having serv'd your Country, to the utmost of your Power, by those *lawful Means*, which the Constitution of its Government allows, and by *no others*.

If I hear in that Retreat, to which Age, the Circumstances of Fortune, and, above all, the Temper of my Mind determines me, that you succeed, I shall rejoice in the common Joy. If I hear that you fail, my Concern for you will be lost in the common Calamity.

The Article with which I purpose to conclude my Letter, is of such a Nature that I cannot omit it, on this Occasion, with any Regard to Truth, Justice, Honour, and the Sentiments of a most reasonable Indignation. The Writers, who are employed against you, have received, with an unlimited Commission to rail, particular Instructions to direct their *Billingsgate* chiefly at *two Gentlemen*. The Art of blackening Characters, by private Closet Whispers, hath been always practis'd, when Power and Confidence hath been given to the *insolent* and the *base*. Perhaps it may have been thought proper, at this Time, to confirm the Effects of such Insinuations by an Echo from the *PRESS*, and to prevent a general, national Clamour from sounding in *some Ears*, by raising an artificial Clamour round about them ; but whatever the Design may have been, sure I am, that this Strain of Malice could not have been employed against Men, who value it less, or who hold in greater Contempt both the Contrivance and the Contrivers. This *they* may do, because they are falsely and maliciously accused ; but *he*, who is the Object of a just Clamour, and of national Hatred,

and who cannot turn his Eyes on himself without confessing to himself, that he is a principal Cause of the Grievances of his Country, must tremble at a Clamour which he knows ought, and which he hath Reason to fear will, sooner or later, prevail against him.

The Calumny against *one* of the Gentlemen, mentioned above, is confin'd to *two Heads*; that he hath left *his Friends and Party*, and that he is urged to oppose the *M——r* by the *Stings of disappointed Ambition*. How ridiculous is the Charge, and on whom can such Stuff impose? Hath he changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government? Hath he renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly profess'd? His greatest Enemy is defy'd to shew that he hath; and yet unless this can be shewn, nothing can be more impertinent, or more silly, than the Imputation of leaving his *Friends and Party*. If he pursues the same general Principles of Conduct, with which he first set out, and is in Opposition now to some few of *those*, with whom he concurred then, *they* have left him, because they have left the *Principles* they profess'd. *He* left *neither*. For Instance, He inveighs against *publick Profusion* and *private Corruption*. He combats *both* with a constant Inflexibility, which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen*, in the best Times of that Commonwealth. Hath he left his *Friends* in doing this? No; they, who oppos'd him in it, have left both *him* and *Virtue*; and *such Men*, tho' they have sometimes had the Honour to concur with *him*, could never be his *Friends*.

Is the *latter* Part of the Charge better founded? Is it not a manifest begging of the Question, and begging of it on the least probable Side? He assisted a *M——r* to rise to Power. He opposes *this M——r* in Power. *Ergo*, *Spite* and *Resentment* are his Motives. May not the *Abuse*, which he apprehends this *M——r* makes of his Power, may not *Measures*, which he fears are wicked, knows are weak, and sees obstinately pursued, be his Motives? May not *dangerous Ambition*, *insatiable Avarice*, and *insolent Behaviour*, be his Provocations? May not *this Gentleman* think himself the more obliged to contribute

to *this M——r's* Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation? Let me ask farther, *whom* we shall soonest suspect to have been actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*; the *Person accus'd*, or his *Accuser*? *whose Circumstances* most demanded, *whose Family* most required an Increase of Wealth and Fortune; those of the *Accused*, or those of the *Accuser*? *Who* hath given greater Proofs of *Avarice* to gather, and *Profusion* to squander; the *Accused*, or the *Accuser*? in *Whom* have we seen strongest Evidences of that *vindictive Temper*, which prompts to *personal Spite* and *Resentment*? In the *Accused*, or the *Accusers*? — If we may form any Judgment of the *Gentleman accused*, there is not the least Colour of Reason to suppose that his *Opposition* proceeds from a Spirit of *Ambition*, or a Design of pushing himself into the *Administration*. He hath already possessed *two very considerable Employments* in the State; one of which he voluntarily laid down, as by his Conduct in *Parliament*, against some Measures of the *Court*, he forced the *Ministers* to take the *other* away, having behaved with unspotted Integrity in *both*; and if I am rightly inform'd of his Resolution by those, who seem to know him very well, it will hardly be ever in the Power of the greatest Man in *England*, or the best Friend he has in the World, to persuade him to accept of a *Third*. — There is an *Ambition*, with which *these Spreaders of Calumny* and their *Masters* are intirely unacquainted! the *Ambition* of *doing Good*, and receiving the Reward in *Fame*. He, who hath *this Ambition*, can never be disappointed in the *other*; and if any Man, in our Age and Country hath Reason to be satisfied with his Success in the Pursuit of *this Ambition*, it is the *Gentleman* of whom we speak.

Whenever the *Defamation* which hath been *display'd* against the *other Gentleman*, is examined with the least Knowledge of Facts, or the least Impartiality of Judgment, it will appear equally false, and, perhaps, still more scandalous; for in *this Case*, the *Slanders* take an ungenerous and mean Advantage, which they have not in the *other*; the Advantage which his singular Situation gives them. They who would have declin'd a Contest with him, whilst he
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was in a Condition to answer for himself, have not blush'd to declaim against him in another Condition. They have experienc'd in *his Case*, that the *Unfortunate* are not *Friendless*. They may live, perhaps, to experience in *their own*, that the *Guilty* are so. — Another Advantage which *these Slanderers* take against *this Gentleman*, arises from the various Scenes of Life, through which he hath pass'd; some distant in Place; some secret in their Nature. Here Calumny hath more room to assert, and Innocence less Opportunity to defend. Common Honesty in some Cases, and even Decency in others, shut the Mouth of the Man who carries these Qualities about him; and even more in his *own Case* than in that of *another Person*; but Calumny is subject to none of these Controuls; and we speak on our own Knowledge, when we affirm that, in the *present Case*, the false Imputations, which the *Accusers* bring, are screen'd from absolute Detection by nothing but the Honour of the *Accused*.

Let us take Notice of some of the Crimes (for Crimes and heinous Crimes they would be, if the Facts were, in any Degree true) which are laid to the Charge of *this Gentleman*.

His *Ingratitude and Treachery* to the late Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin stand first in the Roll. I believe no Man acknowledges more sincerely than He, the superior Merit of these *two illustrious Men*, or wishes more ardently that They were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of *Great Britain*; but I know no *Obligation of Gratitude*, or *Honour*, which he lay under to continue in their Administration, when the Measures of it were alter'd. They might have Reasons, perhaps good Reasons, for *altering their Measures*. He could have none in Point of *Honour*, whatever he might have in Point of *Interest*, for complying with *that Alteration*. Some of the Enemies of *this Gentleman* came into the World on such a *Foot*, that they might think it Preferment to be the *Creatures of any Men in Power*. He who came into it upon *another Foot*, was the *Friend*, but not the *Creature* of these *great Men*, and he had the Satisfaction of proving himself such on different Occasions, and without

Often.

Ostentation, and at least to *one* of them, at a Time when the *Creatures of great Men* usually renounce them; at a Time when they could do him neither Good nor Hurt. That he came to Court on the Call of the *late Queen*, in Opposition to *them*, and exerted himself in her Service, when they served her no longer, will not be objected to him by any Man who thinks more Allegiance due to the *Prince* than to the *Minister*. If the present *M—r* hath a Mind to avow a contrary Doctrine, he hath my Consent; but then let those who engage with him remember on what Terms they engage.—— On the same false Principle is another *Accusation* brought. This *Gentleman* had no Patron, or Patroness, but the *late Queen*. He neither *projected*, nor *procured the Disgrace* of her *last Minister*, nor knew that it was resolved, whatever he might suspect, till he heard from herself that it was so. Much more might be said on this Article; but we chuse to pass it over for many Reasons, and, among others, for this; that whilst we defend the *Living*, we are unwilling to say any thing, which might be drawn by *these Slanderers* into an Insult on the *Dead*.

The last Charge of *Ingratitude* brought against *this Gentleman*, is hard to be answered seriously. Thus much however shall be said truly and seriously. He acknowledges, with the deepest Sense of Gratitude possible, the Clemency and Goodness of his *late Majesty*; but sure he hath Reason, if ever Man had Reason, to disclaim all Obligation to the *M—r*. The Mercy of the *late King* was extended unto him unasked and unearn'd. What followed many Years afterwards, in Part of his Majesty's gracious Intentions, was due solely to the *King*. That they were not fulfilled, was due solely to the *M—r*. His Ambition, his causeless Jealousy, and private Interest, continued a sort of *Proscription*, with much Cruelty to the *Person* concerned, and little Regard to the Declarations which his *Royal Master* had been pleased so frequently to make.

That *this Gentleman* was engaged in the Cause of the *Pretender*, is true. That he served him unfaithfully, is false. He never enter'd into *these Engagements*, or any *Commerce with him*, till he had been
attainted,

attainted, and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects. He never had any Commerce, either direct, or indirect, which was inconsistent with *these Engagements*, whilst he continued in them; and since he was out of them, he hath had no Commerce, either direct or indirect, in Favour of *that Cause*. On such an Occasion as this it is decent, not arrogant, to challenge all Mankind. I do it therefore in the Behalf of *this Gentleman*, to produce one single Proof in Contradiction of any one of these general Affirmations. For the Truth of some, I may appeal even to *those* who have been in the Service of his late, and are in that of his *present Majesty*; and particularly to a *noble Lord*, who, by the Post he was in, when most of these Transactions passed, must have had the best Opportunity of knowing the Truth of them, and by whose Testimony I am willing that the *Gentleman* I defend should stand or fall; a Decision to which, I am sure, he himself will be ready to submit his Life, and, what is more, his Honour.

I make you no Excuse for the Length of my Letter. The Justice I have done, or endeavour'd to do to *those* who have been vilely calumniated, and particularly on the Occasion of *your Writings*, and of *mine*, will be a sufficient Excuse of itself.

I am,

SIR,

H. OLDCASTLE.

REMARKS

REMARKS *on the* CRAFTSMAN'S *Vindication.*

THE *Mask is indeed taken off.* The CRAFTSMAN hath openly avowed the Conduct of the late Lord B——ke: The vindictive and merciless Hand, whose flaming Zeal against *all* wicked Ministers hath so long pointed the Dagger at another Gentleman's Breast, hath so long threaten'd the Axe to that Minister's Head, and solemnly sworn to pursue him even to Destruction: This Roman-spirited Patriot, as he modestly affects to call himself; even He! with astonishing Meekness, espouses the Cause, and vindicates the Character of a Person attainted of *High Treason*: A Person, who by his own Confession fled from the Justice of his Country; and who, by the Confession of his trusty Advocate, enlisted himself in the Service of the PRETENDER.

This is the Man opposed to the Person whom *two succeeding Princes* have honoured with their Favour, and trusted with their Power. Since then this *upright Gentleman* who now is Candidate for that Grace and Trust, hath, by his ingenious Advocate, offered himself to the Trial of his Country; since he puts his Honour upon their Examination; since he *insolently* challenges all Mankind to prove that Guilt against his Character, for which he fled the Kingdom, and forfeited his Honours: Let us therefore accept this Challenge; let us examine that *weak*, that *foolish* and *slavish* Defence which the *Craftsman* hath given in his Name.

It is said, *That they who would have declined a Contest with him, whilst he was in a Condition to answer for himself, have not blushed to declaim against him in another Condition.* Ridiculous and trifling Pretence! Whilst he was in a Condition to answer for himself, why did he not answer? Who disabled him to answer? Who declined the Contest but himself? Who abandoned the Trial but himself? He first ignominiously flies from publick Justice; he then pretends, that his Accusers would never have met him at that Bar: Which, had it been his real Opinion, guilty as he was, he would not have fled; and had he been innocent, though his Accusers would have met him, yet he would have stood
the

the Charge. How monstrous is that Defence, where a Man pretends himself to have been conscious of his Integrity, and fearless of his Accusers, yet at the same time run away from his Trial, and dared not abide the Test of a National Enquiry?

It is also said, impudently said, *That his Accusers have experienced in his Case, that the Unfortunate are not Friendless; that likewise they may live perhaps to experience in their own, that the Guilty are so.* Little is this to be feared by any Man alive, when so much Guilt as fell to his Share hath not excluded him from Friendship. If Corruption, if Breach of Trust, if Breach of National Faith, if High Treason itself; the first charged upon him by his Friend the late Earl of Oxford, in an Instance of more than twenty thousand Pounds, of which the Publick was plunder'd; and the others all confessed by his shameful Flight: If these then have not left him friendless, I know not who can ever despair of Friendship.

But who have been this worthy Person's Friends, set aside the common Ties of Blood, and such Alliances, which will often continue, notwithstanding any Crimes, or any Condemnation: Set these aside, we shall easily marshal this *unfortunate* Minister's Friends: We shall find them in the Pretender's Court Abroad, in the dark Cabals of Jacobites at Home: We shall find them among discarded Statesmen, disappointed Whigs, ambitious Malecontents, and veteran Tories; who from a Sympathy of Nature, and Conformity of Principles; who from concurring Circumstances and Designs, have honoured him with a Friendship, which none of his warmest Enemies have any Cause to envy, and which I am sure the lowest of them would heartily be ashamed of.

Other Advantages heavily complained of, as taken against this Gentleman, arise from "the various Scenes of Life thro' which he hath passed; some distant in Place, some secret in their Nature. Here Calumny, saith his candid Friend, hath more Room to assert, and Innocence less Opportunity to defend: Common Honesty, they tell us, in some Cases, and even Decency in others, shut the Mouth of the Man who carries these Qualities about him, and even more in his own Cause than in that of another Person: But Calumny is subject to none of these Controuls; and we speak of our own Knowledge, say the well informed Authors of the Craftsman, when we affirm, that in the present Case the false Imputations which the Accusers bring, are screen'd from absolute Detection by nothing but the Honour of the Accused."

What

What poor and contemptible Sophistry have we before us! Here are Writers complaining of Hardships done to a Gentleman by Enquiries into the various Scenes of his Life, some distant in Place, some secret in their Nature: Shall they then complain of this, whilst they torture another Gentleman's Actions in the most cruel and merciless Manner? What Distance of Time or Place, what Privacy or Intricacy of Transactions, have ever moved their Candor, have ever restrained their Calumnies? And shall they insist upon better Terms for the Character of one whom they acknowledge to have been a *Traitor to his Country*, and an *Agent of the Pretender*, than ever they would allow a faithful Servant of the Prince on the Throne, to a Person eminently trusted in the Councils of the Crown?

Common Honesty and Decency, it is said, shut the Mouth of this *unfortunate* Minister; and they affirm, that his Honour screens the Charge against him from absolute Detection. Prodigious! Did ever Honesty or Decency shut the Mouth of Innocence? Did ever Honour basely submit to Infamy? Shame and Guilt are only silent in the Day of Enquiry: Conscious Honesty is open; nor Decency or Modesty forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation.

They then take notice of some of the Crimes alledged against this Gentleman; and heinous Crimes the *Craftsman* allows them to be, if they are true. Let us hear him explain away his Charge: He merits all our Attention.

His *Ingratitude* and *Treachery* to the late Duke of MAREBOROUGH and the Earl of Godolphin, stand first in the Roll. How then is this Point cleared? Why, the *Craftsman* says, he believes, " That no Man acknowledges more sincerely than this Gentleman, the superior Merit of those two illustrious Ministers, or wishes more ardently that they were now alive, and had the Conduct of the Affairs of Great Britain." But the *Craftsman* says, " that he knows no Obligation of *Gratitude* or *Honour* which he lay under to continue in that Administration, when the Measures of it were altered. Tho' those illustrious Ministers might have very good Reasons for altering their Measures, he could have none in Point of *Honour*, whatever he might have in Point of *Interest*, for complying with that Alteration. Some of the Enemies of this Gentleman, it is said, came into the World on such a Foot, that they might think it Preferment to be Creatures of any Men in Power: He, who came into it upon another Foot, was the Friend, but not the Creature, of those great Men; and had, as they falsely assert, the Satisfaction of

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" proving himself such on several Occasions; and without
 " Ostentation, at least to *one* of them, at a Time when the
 " Creatures of great Men usually renounce them, at a Time
 " when they could do him neither Good nor Hurt."

How just and faithful this Narrative really is, will immediately be seen.

In the first Place, the Fact on which the whole Defence is grounded, is a Falshood of the most glaring Nature; namely, That the D. of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin ALTERED their Measures: For it is a Fact of the greatest Notoriety, all Men know it, and none can deny it, that their Administration was uniform; the War they carried on was to recover the Liberties of Europe, and the Peace they laboured to establish, was such as might secure those common Liberties. This they never departed from, and their Plan was never varied. To say then that *they altered their Measures*, when those Measures were always the same, till this Gentleman came to Court in Opposition to them, is a false and scandalous Libel on these illustrious Ministers, but no Defence of this *very honest* Gentleman.

If the Charge of *Ingratitude* against this Gentleman had no more in it than merely his Difference in Opinion with those great Men, his Weakness and Vanity might have been reflected on; but perhaps no Man would ever have imputed to him his different Opinion as criminal. He might differ with them *lawfully*, and yet most *unreasonably* at the same Time; but however *unreasonable* or *absurd* his Opinion might be, none would have called it *Ingratitude*.

Here then is the *low* Artifice, and the *poor* Sophistry of his *disingenuous* Advocate, who wilfully mistakes the Charge of Ingratitude merely to consist in his Opposition to those Ministers, and not in the *Circumstances of that Opposition*, which was carried on by the most *barbarous* and *cruel* Defamation that ever any Minister suffered; by the most *venomous*, *malicious* *Invectives* that the Vengeance of Hell could inspire; by *Weekly Libels* ushered into the World; by an *insolent* Letter of *his own* writing, address'd to the Author of the *Examiner*, and dispersed by his own Authority all over the Kingdom: *Libels* assisted with *his own* Pen, and encouraged by *his own* Bounty, wherein the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin, were treated as infamous *Parricides* and *Plunderers*; wherein they were also pointed out to all their Countrymen, as the *worst Enemies* of their Country; wherein no *Variety of Scenes* in their Lives, no *Distance of Place*, nor *Secrecy of Affairs*, were ever candidly considered; but their *private* Life, their *domestick* Peace, were invaded. The Earl of Godolphin was insulted, not only in his *Fall*, but even in his *Hour*

of

of Death, and denied the *Privilege of Rest in the Grave*. The Duke of Marlborough likewise was defamed in his *Absence*, for neither *Absence* or *Death* were consider'd; all Advantages were taken against these great Ministers, all Slanders uttered against them, notwithstanding that this Gentleman owns that he hath such *high Opinions* of their *superior Worth*, and such *ardent Wishes* that they were now in Power; in which Case he would as surely attempt their *Destruction*, as the *Jews* would attempt to crucify their *Saviour*, should he reveal himself again.

If then this *unfortunate Lord*, or his Friends, would clear him of the Charge relating to the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin, neither he nor they have any need to prove that he had a *Right* to oppose them, but that the *Defamation* of their Persons was an *Act of Gratitude* in one who owns his *Obligations to their Friendship*.

It would have been very obliging, had they told us wherein he proved himself to be their *Friend* at a time when their *Creatures* renounced them. Was he the Duke of Marlborough's *Friend*, when he promoted and carried on that *Censure* against him in the *House of Commons*, or that *Prosecution* in the *Court of Exchequer*, which were so injurious to his *superior Worth*? Was he the Duke of Marlborough's *Friend*, when he so gratefully opposed and disapproved the *Pass*, which his Grace desired to go into *Flanders*, merely for his private *Convenience*? Was he the Earl of Godolphin's *Friend*, when he so zealously carried on that Charge in the *House of Commons*; a Charge of *notorious Breach of Trust*, and *high Injustice to the Nation*, in suffering *Thirty-five Millions Sterling* of the *publick Money* to remain unaccounted for? Was he the Earl of Godolphin's *Friend*, when he joined in this infamous *Vote* against him; and condemned him even without seeing that Evidence which the House had called for, and which, when it came before them, was a full *Justification* of those Persons whom they thought it necessary first to hang, and then to try? Were these *Acts of Friendship* to those Noble Lords? the *Proofs of Gratitude* given them, when their *Creatures* deserted them?

It is said, "That he came into the World on another Foot than some Gentlemen," who heartily despise the dirty Infuuation. It is also said, "that he was not the Creature of these Ministers, whilst others might think it high Preferment to be so." If to be the Creature of Ministers, is to serve them faithfully in their Power, and defend them zealously in their Disgrace: If to adhere to them in all their Fortunes, and to do them Justice in their Fall against all the corrupt Temptations which their Enemies could offer:

if this is to be the Creature of Ministers, the whole Creation cannot produce a *fairer*, or a *worthier* Character. But if to serve them for *mercenary* Views, and *sordid* Interest; if to desert them, because they did not gratify these, as indeed who can gratify *insatiable* Avarice, or *restless* Ambition? if to *supplant* their Power by the *vilest* Arts, and insult their Persons with the most *groveling* Malice; if to *Defame* their *illustrious* Characters; if to deny their *superior* Worth: If to condemn them *without any Evidence*, and *against all Justice*; if this is the Part of a *Friend*; and not of a *Creature*, the late Lord B—— then was such to the Duke of Marlborough, and to the Earl of Godolphin.

“ That he came to Court on the Call of the late Queen, “ in Opposition to them; and exerted himself in her Service, when they served her no longer, will not (says the “ *Craftsman*) be objected against him by any Man, who “ thinks *more Allegiance* due to the *Prince* than to the Minister.” But the *Craftsman* knows, and wickedly evades the Truth, That *this Gentleman* came to Court without her Majesty’s Call, and came there *only* to oppose her Ministers: That they served her faithfully, to her own Glory, and the Good of her People, with the Approbation of the Queen, and with the Applause of the Nation, till *he* and *others*, by base and treacherous Arts, supplanted them in her Favour; succeeding to great Offices of State, by imposing on her Understanding, and not in *pure Obedience* to her Commands. All this was done, whilst the Duke of Marlborough was *actually* in her Service, and would have served her still, with the same Advantage to the Nation: But *this Gentleman* was restless, till that *Immortal Man* was dismiss’d her Service, tho’ then in the full *Career of Success*; and by *this Minister’s* Means the *Royal Hand* was prostituted to disgrace that *Great and Invincible General*. We shall ever make the just Distinction between *Princes* and their *Ministers*. Some Princes there undoubtedly are, whose Judgments and Opinions ought to have a much greater Deference than those of their Ministers; but with the highest Reverence to the Throne, and to the Rights of Monarchy, with all possible Tenderness to the late Queen *Anne*, and to her *pious* Memory, I will be so free as to assert, That the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin understood the Interests of this Nation better than ever that Princess could at any time be supposed to do; and that those *Illustrious Persons* discharged their Trusts more faithfully and more honourably than those whom she *suffered* to supplant them. Let the *Craftsman* deny it, if he pleases; the rest of the World are sufficiently satisfied.

“ This

" This Gentleman (says the *Craftsman*) had no Patron, or " *Patroness*, but the late *Queen*." The *Craftsman* knows it to be utterly false: He knows that this Gentleman would never have been re-admitted to her Councils, but thro' the late Earl of Oxford's Influence; nor made her *Principal Secretary of State*, but with that *Great Favourite's* Choice and and Approbation. All the World have seen that Lord's Memorial to the *Queen*, wherein he Charges this Gentleman with having *listed Parties for himself among the Members of the House of Commons*; wherein he also observes to her all those *Factions and Divisions which Lord B. had raised in her Councils, to make himself Chief in Authority*; wherein he likewise observes, that Lord B. was sent to France, merely to give Time and Leisure for composing those Differences; wherein he farther instances his Rage against him for opposing the Voyage to Canada; by which he says Lord B. actually Cheated the Publick of above Twenty Thousand Pounds. And thro' the whole Course of that Memorial, it may be seen, that Lord B. was in fierce Opposition against him, and zealously bent to disgrace him. To say that he neither projected, or procured this Disgrace, is therefore apparently false. To suggest that he knew not that the Earl's Disgrace was resolved on, till the Queen told it him, is idle and foolish, a silly, Jesuitical Evasion; for who could tell him sooner than the *Queen*? And how could she tell him her Resolution before she made one? That he had Obligations to the Earl of Oxford, is apparent from his Advancement; for he came into Power in Conjunction with that Noble Lord, and by the Means of his Friendship. What his Gratitude was in Return appears likewise from the Noble Earl's Overthrow. This is certain, that there hath been no Minister, or Administration, since this Gentleman came into the World, whose Person and Measures he hath not distressed, to have a Share in their Power; and afterwards, when he obtained a Share, it hath always been seen, that he constantly renewed the same fierce Opposition, that he might become *Supreme Director of Affairs*, and engross all that Power, which he never would suffer to be easy in the Hands of other Men, however deserving of the Publick, or however kind to himself.

The *Craftsman* then comes to this Gentleman's Behaviour in His late Majesty's Time; whose Mercy, he says, was unask'd and unearned. That it was unearned, is probable enough; that it was unasked, is a downright Falshood: For by the *Journal Book of the House of Commons*, Tuesday the 20th of April 1725, which is at this time before me, it appears that the House was acquainted, by his late Majesty's Command, " That this Gentleman had, about Seven Years be-

“ fore, made his humble *Application* and *Submission*, with
 “ *Affurances of Duty, Allegiance and Fidelity*; which His
 “ Majesty so far accepted, as to give him *Encouragement*
 “ to hope for some future Mark of His Majesty’s Favour
 “ and Goodness.” Yet the *Craftsman* says, that *this Person*
 never asked for Mercy. See then what shameless *Effrontery*
 and *Falshood* reigns in these Gentlemen, and runs thro’ their
 Arguments!

“ What followed many Years afterwards, in part of His
 “ Majesty’s gracious Intentions, *the Craftsman says*, was
 “ solely due to the *late King*; that they were not fulfilled,
 “ was solely due to the M—— r. His Ambition, his
 “ causeless Jealousy, and private Interests, continued a
 “ sort of Proscription, with much *Cruelty* to the Person
 “ concerned, and little Regard to the *King’s Declarations*.”

To this I answer, That it is notorious, that the *Minister*
 here abused found it difficult enough to obtain from the
House of Commons that Indulgence to this attained Lord, which
 the *Craftsman* calls *but Part* of the late King’s gracious In-
 tentions; that he was very much blamed both by his Friends
 and Enemies, for the Share he had in obtaining that Fa-
 vour of the Parliament; which I may truly affirm, was an
 Indulgence against the Sense of the Nation: And such was
 the Opposition very reasonably made to it every where,
 that I do not believe it was in the *Power of the Crown* to
 have reversed the Attainder. If likewise it had been in the
Power of the Crown, yet it would have been an *high Injustice*
 to the Nation to have re-admitted a Person into the *House of*
Peers, who had openly been in the *Service of the Pretender*;
 a Person, who by the most wicked *Administration* in the Ser-
 vice of his lawful Prince, had incurred the Guilt of *High*
Treason; a Person, who by enlisting himself in the *Pretender’s*
Service, had avowed his *Treason*, and aggravated his Guilt;
 a Person, who at Home sacrificed the Honour and Happi-
 ness of his Country, who *Abroad* endeavoured to overthrow
 its Liberty and Laws, the *Protestant Succession*, and all that
 was sacred in the *British Constitution*. If the *Craftsman*
 and his Friends could think 750 *Irish Papists* in *France* dan-
 gerous to this Establishment, could they then think it safe,
 had such a *Leviathan of Treason* been re-admitted in Parlia-
 ment, or re-invested with Employments which he had for-
 merly discharged with so much Corruption, Perfidiousness,
 Wantonness, and Iniquity? If this Gentleman’s Affairs were
 thus circumstanced, would the Minister he complains of
 have been just or faithful to his native Country, had he
 counselled or advised the King to fulfil such Intentions or
 Declarations? It is a *Libel* on the late King’s Memory to
 say

say that *He had such Intentions*. But, if through excessive Grace and Goodness; if through that overflowing Mercy which was so natural to his Royal Mind; if through his Abundance of tender Compassion, he had ever signified *any such Intentions*; let every *Englishman* judge, whether it would not have been highly criminal in any Minister, not to have represented to his most sacred Majesty the dangerous Tendency of such his Intentions. For tho' Princes may propose to pardon the greatest Malefactor, yet if Mercy to such a Man should be Cruelty to a Nation, what Minister dare be silent on such an Occasion, or suffer, as far as in him lies, the Royal Grace to be extended even against the Good of the Kingdom?

Should we consider this at the same time in the Lights of a just and reasonable private Interest; an Interest no way inconsistent with the general Good; should we reflect on this Gentleman's Usage of all the Ministers who lived in his Time; how gratefully he used the Duke of Marlborough and the Earl of Godolphin; with what Honour and good Faith he treated the Earl of Oxford; how restless his Nature, how insatiable his Appetites: A man of Sense must have thought that Minister infatuated, who should have consented that this Gentleman should ever have Power to shew that shining Gratitude to him which former Ministers had so largely experienced: For the Craftsman owns he had earned no Mercy: Should any Minister then concur in such Indulgence to him, as might not only endanger the Ministry, but even the Constitution? This Minister therefore, whether he considered himself or his Country, was from common Justice to both, obliged to oppose the pretension.

Surely it was a very great Indulgence that this Gentleman was restored to the Liberty of breathing the Air of his native Country, and of enjoying his private Fortune, when he was deservedly exiled from the one, and had justly forfeited the other. Could he have had this Indulgence and Favour, without the Assistance of that Minister against whom he is so vindictive? Has he not had more than ever he deserved? And what would he have more than this? would he again administer the Publick, abandon its Allies, and sacrifice its Honour? Will nothing satisfy this Gentleman, but the Power which he once abused, and would again abuse? the Trust which he once betrayed, and would again betray? Humble and modest Requests! and wicked that Minister indeed who stands in Opposition to them!

It is said, "That the Minister just mentioned, opposed these Requests from causeless Jealousy." Let it be determined how causeless that Jealousy must be, when it is con-

sidered how *moderate* this Gentleman hath been, how *quiet* and *peaceable* a Subject he is, under that Government which pardoned such Treasons, and shewed him such Mercy : *These* are Merits of which the *Volumes of the Craftsman* will ever be *precious* Memorials. If then he hath been so *fierce*, so turbulent and outrageous, as a *private* Man, was it *causeless* *Jealousy* to suppose that he would have been worse in a *public* Capacity ? Certainly *this Gentleman's* Friends are ill advised, to censure that Minister's *Jealousy*, when so much hath been done in conjunction *with themselves*, to justify that *Jealousy*. In truth, it ought not to be called mere *Jealousy* ; it was just and fatal *Discernment*.

They own, *That this Gentleman was in the Service of the Pretender* ; that he served him unfaithfully, *they say*, is false. This gives the *Chevalier* the *LYE* : And as I am not concerned to vindicate his Honour, so it is foreign to me. They assert that the Gentleman never entered into *these Engagements* with the Pretender, or any *Commerce* with him, till he had been attainted, and was cut off from the *Body of his Majesty's subjects*. Good God ! what an Excuse is here ! What had the *People of England* done to this Lord, to merit this Usage ? That because he would not, or dared not stand the Judgment of his Peers, and answer the Charge of Male-administration committed in the highest Offices, therefore was it just or reasonable that he should impose the Pretender upon his Country ? That because he could not justify his Crimes, that therefore he must subvert our Constitution ? And not being able to support his wicked Greatness, must he therefore be excused in a monstrous-Design to destroy all our Liberties ? This perhaps, was natural with him ; but then it shews us how bad his Nature must be. And this Defence of his Crimes is worthy of the *Craftsman*.

Is there an Instance of *one honest Man* in the Annals of Britain, who ever turned himself against the Happiness and Constitution, because he was cut off from the Body of the People, either through Mistakes in publick Affairs, or through Default to answer a publick Accusation ; or, if they please to have it so, through the Violence of Times ? Did Ludlow the Regicide ? Did the worthy and innocent Earl of Clarendon, both driven out of the Kingdom ? Did any Man, who had the least Share of natural Integrity, ever attempt to enslave a great People, because he could not continue to live among them ? But this is the governing Principle of our *modern Patriots*, whatever Incapacities their Crimes or Demerits draw upon them ; whether they are banish'd the Country, deny'd its Honours, or refused its Offices : This too, however justly or deservedly, they

vow

vow their Revenge immediately against the People, the innocent and collective Body of their Countrymen; and in their Despair of gratifying their unbounded Appetites, of recovering their former Power, or engrossing all Employments, they immediately attempt the Destruction of all Mankind.

That he so readily went into the *PRETENDER'S Service*, shews his strong Propension to those Interests. Even in the Year 1702, he was one of the *Virtuous 117*, who gave their Votes to throw out the Bill for settling the Protestant Succession in the illustrious House of Hanover: Which shews how much his Majesty, or his Royal Family, stand obliged to this Gentleman; as also how much he ever was devoted to their Interests. If this is *vile Calumnation*, then the *Craftsman's* Challenge was properly made; and there is not one Proof in the World against his general Affirmations, notwithstanding the numerous Instances which have been herein produced.

They make their Appeals for the Truth of their general Affirmations, to a Noble Lord. If they would let us know who this Lord may be, or what particular Points they desire his Lordship should speak to; and if this *Great Personage* would condescend to be examined, we might perhaps obtain some useful Informations by proper Interrogatories: But at present we think it highly absurd for this Gentleman, or his Friends, to call a Witness in their Defence, who, they are certain, will never appear, or submit to an Examination. Equally foolish is it to make him Arbitrator for the Publick, when they are assured that he will not give the Publick any Opinion which he may form in this Case.

It is no extraordinary Presumption to imagine, that if the Noble Lord was to give his Opinion freely of the Gentleman who makes such solemn Appeals to his Judgment, that he would brand him with all that Infamy which his Crimes deserve. His Lordship wust well remember that scandalous Negotiation carry'd on by this Minister with the late French King; and that at the very Time when this Gentleman assured the Dutch, in the late Queen's Name, *That her Majesty was resolved, in making Peace, as in making War, to act in perfect Concert with the States; at the very Time he carried on a separate Commerce with France, signing with the French Ministers private Propositions of Peace; in which an express Article was inserted, That the Secret should be inviolably kept.* In Consequence of which, he was obliged to sacrifice the Honour of the Nation, and to comply with all the Demands of the French, that they

might keep his *wicked Secret*, and screen him from the Justice of his Country.

This Branch of the *Grand Alliance*, this shameful Violation of the *British Faith*, was attended with an Act of *High-Treason*, as arbitrary in its Nature as ever was committed in this Kingdom: For he presumed to take upon him *Sovereign Authority*, and without any Powers from the Crown, met the *Agent of France*, then in open War with the Kingdom, and in that manner carried on his clandestine Negotiation: A Proceeding so fatal, that the Earl of STRAFFORD soon informed him, that the *Statés* had seen a Letter from M. Torcy, giving an Account of a *Negotiation begun* in England: By which Step the Queen was divested of all her Allies; who could no longer repose any Confidence in her *faithless* and *treacherous* Ministers: And the *British Nation*, whose arms had been so victorious, was now entirely exposed to the tender Mercies of *France*.

To compleat this Work of Infamy, this Violation of every thing sacred among Mankind, this Gentleman, then her late Majesty's *Secretary of State*, sends Her General, the late Duke of Ormond, Orders, *not to assist the Confederates against the French Army*, then encamped near them; at the same time communicates these Orders to the Court of *France*, and opens a Correspondence between *Mareschal Villars* and the Duke of Ormond, whereby his Grace "gave the common Enemy Intelligence of all that was designed in the "Confederate Army." Not content with ordering the Queen's Troops to suffer that the *French Armies* should do whatever they desired against the Allies, this Gentleman insists, *that all the Foreigners in English Pay should withdraw from the Confederates, or forfeit the Subsidies of Britain*: The Consequence of which must have been, that *Prince Eugene's Army* had been infallibly cut to Pieces, and *all the Empire* laid open to the Arms of *France*. But those *Foreigners* were faithful, notwithstanding this Violation of the *British Faith*: An Act so ignominious, that the Earl of STRAFFORD wrote to Lord B——ke, on the Separation of the Troops, *That all the English seem'd rejoiced to march off; being weary of the Situation which they were in, and of the Reproaches they met with in the great Army*. To such Disgrace did this worthy Person expose our gallant Countrymen.

The dreadful Consequences of the Separation were now sensibly felt in the unfortunate Action at *Denain*; where *Mareschal Villars* attacked Lord *Albemarle's* Camp, which he forced, took him Prisoner, and entirely defeated all the Troops under his Command: On which Occasion Mr. Torcy makes his Compliments to Lord B——ke, in full Perswasion,

swation, *that a Victory obtained by the Queen's Enemies over her faithful Allies, must be a Pleasure to her Majesty*: A Letter, which, howsoever insolent and intolerable, Her *honest Secretary* not only received with Patience, but even with much Satisfaction.

It would be endless to enumerate the Consequences of this egregious Scene of Iniquity: How Lord B—— *he* himself gave the *French Court* special Instructions, whereby they might force *Tournay* out of the Hands of the *Dutch*, whose Interests then we had in our Care, and to whom we had engaged our Honour for their Security: A Crime for which he was not only impeached, but which was likewise expressly charged on him by his Friend the late Earl of *Oxford*. We may also remember, how he *foolishly* and *stupidly* gave Orders to the *British Minister* in *Spain*, to acknowledge *King Philip's* Right to that Monarchy; the only Point which his *Catholick Majesty* laboured to obtain of *Great Britain*. An Acknowledgment, which was most wretchedly offered, before he had promised even *one Point* in Favour of the *British Nation*: An Act of Folly so fatal, that this Prince, who would have purchas'd our Recognition on any Terms, when he had gained it *for nothing at all*, refused us, in the most positive and imperious manner, even an *Inch of Ground* about the Town of *Gibraltar*; and also rejected all our Instances for our *brave unhappy Allies*, the *Catalans*: A People whom we had, on the Faith of our Nation, engaged in the War against *King Philip*: Nay, he insisted, and to the eternal Infamy of that Administration it was complied with, that we should turn our own perfidious Arms upon them, to compleat their *ill-deserved Destruction*. Our own *Ships of War* were commanded to force this free-spirited People, with whom we were united in the Cause of Liberty: We did accordingly force them into that Slavery from which we had sworn to defend them; and when they had perished bravely and manfully, though miserably, they hung up on their *High Altar* the *Queen's solemn Declaration* to protect them, as a Memorial to Heaven and Earth of *British* Perfidy and Ingratitude. All this I mention for the Glory of that *worthy Gentleman*, who whilst this *poor unfortunate* People were thus delivered over to Destruction, assured the *British Nation* in the most solemn manner, *that every thing was doing for their Preservation*. This is He, whose Cause and Character the *Craftsman* so warmly espouses; whose Counsels are the standing Measures of our present Patriots, and whose Principles are, by their united Strength, to be imposed upon the People of *Britain*.

If I add, that this Gentleman's wise Negotiations reduced him to such low Distress, that he submitted to accept of a *Renunciation* from King Philip, which all the *French* and *Spanish* Ministers told him, at the very time it was made, was perfectly invalid, and never could be effectual: That by his great Skill in *Treaty-making*, he suffered the *French* grossly to impose upon him in the Affair of *Newfoundland*; was forced to allow them a Share in the *British* Fishery, which they had no Pretension to; and to purchase the unworthy Terms which they agreed to, by an Article for lowering all the Duties on *French* Commodities: An Article, which, had the Parliament complied with it, must have exposed our *Staple Manufactures* to Ruin. If these, I say, are duly remember'd, it must be confessed that he is a most able Master of Negotiation, and worthy above all Men, to act in the Councils of his Country; an Employment for which he professes so vast an Ambition.

If in the *British Parliament* he was seen so enterprizing on the *British Liberties*: If to his Piety and Justice was owing the ever-memorable SCHISM BILL; that Bill which deprived our *Protestant Dissenters* of those Rights, which, as Men, they were born to enjoy; deprived them not only of *public Trusts*, but even of the *private Education* of their Children: If to his Zeal for *National Freedom*, were owing those *Speeches and Messages*, which the late Queen made to her Parliament in the four last Years of her Reign, against the *Liberty of the Press*: If to his Love of publick Enquiries, were owing the Measures carried on in the House of Commons, and the *Grand Committee* appointed by that House to *Restrain the Press*: If these are his Merits, how worthy must he be to sit in the *British Parliament*, where he would not allow the present KING to sit as *Duke of Cambridge*, altho' it was his legal and undisputed Right? How wicked are they, who will not restore him to that *Peerage*, which he so highly dishonour'd, and so deservedly forfeited! Let *Englishmen* judge what an excellent Patriot he is, and how useful a Minister he would be: Let the *Noble Lord* judge for us, to whom he makes his Appeals. I dare say, that no Man hath ever more united the Opinions of all Parties than this Gentleman hath done. As none but the most *Abandon'd* think him useful, so none but the most *ignorantly stupid* can think him honest. They who defend him, do it, not from any Impressions of his Worth, but in vindication of themselves for employing such a Tool: They who would rise by his *wicked Arts*, would never raise him above his present low Condition. As they know his Treachery and Ingratitude, they bear him no Affection; they place

place in him no Confidence; nor will they ever make him the Partner of their Success, if they preserve the least Share of *common Sense*. However they may employ him, we all know how they mean to reward him; and perhaps it may be the only good Meaning those Gentlemen are to be charged with.

In this Disquisition I have given this *honest* Gentleman the Preference, and have considered him in the *first* Place, although the *Craftsman* introduced him *last*. This was not done by me, with any View to neglect his *inseparable Collegue*, but from the material Difference of their respective Cases. And it must be allowed, that he who has done *most* to deserve such Acknowledgments as are in our Power to give, ought to receive them *first*.

The *Craftsman* enters into the Charge of *cruel Revenge* and *disappointed Ambition*, so frequently objected to an HONOURABLE PATRIOT, *his Patron*. "How ridiculous" (says our Author) is this Charge? and on whom can such "Stuff fall? Hath he renounced the Principles of good Policy "which he formerly professed?" Yes, indeed; and this I shall give my self some little Trouble to shew.

If this Gentleman was educated in *Whig* Principles, as he undoubtedly was: If the fundamental Maxim of his Education, was the Establishment of this Government in the *present Royal Family*: If this Royal Family have governed the Kingdom by the Laws, and allowed greater Liberties to the People, than ever were at any Time heretofore known or enjoyed among us: If to this mighty Share of Liberty be also added that sacred and inviolable Right of Property, which we enjoy; that free and unrestrained Privilege of exercising our *private Judgment* without Controul in Matters of Conscience and Religion, no ways subject to *Ecclesiastical Power*, or *Spiritual Tyranny*, or *political Bigotry*: If freed from all these Impositions and Grievances, we thus enjoy all that Happiness which we ever could promise ourselves from the *Protestant Succession*: If notwithstanding this, the *Honourable Gentleman* taking the Advantage of common Evils, and unavoidable Difficulties, arising from the various Passions and Interests of contending Princes, hath even attacked the *Royal Title* to the Crown, and invaded the *Prince on the Throne*; invaded him even in *open Parliament*, by charging him with having *Broken the Terms of the Act of Settlement*; by insisting, that the *Act of Settlement* is his Majesty's only Tenure by which he holds his Crown; by suggesting, I say, that *this was in Breach of that Act*; and leaving others to conclude, that as the *Terms* were broken, *the Title was forfeited, and the Throne was thereby become vacant*: If this was done by *this Gentleman*, may it not be asked, *Whether any Title in this World was ever impeached,*
but

but with a View to change the Possession? And if this be true, he certainly and manifestly hath *changed his Notions of Right and Wrong* in Matters of Government; hath taken every little Advantage which might shake the Scepter in the Royal Hand, and render all the Happiness of *Englishmen* precarious.

If he hath gone over to the *Tories*, and suffers himself to be governed by *Veteran Jacobites*, by Men who confessedly have been in the *Pretender's Service*, and would return to it on the first Temptation or Provocation: If he constantly votes in open Conjunction with a Body of Men sworn *Enemies to Whigs to Whig-Establishments*, and all *Whig Principles*; if he acts in Concert with, and by the Dictates of, those who opposed the *Revolution*, distressed *King William's Government*, opposed the Settlement of the *Protestant Succession*, promoted the *French Commerce Bill*, carried the *Schism Bill*, and for *Thirty Years* together have laboured with all their Might, to impose the *Pretender* upon the *British Nation*; if, further, he opposes the King's Affairs in general; if he attempted and struggled to put off the *common Supplies* of the present Year, and to distress the publick Service in every Branch of the Government; if he now condemns those very Measures which he himself once advanced, the Treaties which he voted honourable, and the Alliances which he then asserted necessary; if notwithstanding all the Share which he hath had in the Councils of the Crown, and all the Vindications which in former Years he made of the Royal Measures, he hath lately avowed and declared, "That not one Treaty signed within these *Sixteen Years*, was even made, or so much as intended for the Good of this Kingdom." If this be true, he hath departed from the Principles of good Policy which he formerly professed. However bold the Defiance to shew this may be, it is evidently true; and those Imputations of *Disappointment* or *Revenge*, which the *Craftsman* calls *impertinent* and *silly*, are the very best Excuses his Patron can possibly make use of.

It is said, that "If he pursues the same general Principles of Conduct with which he first set out, and is in Opposition now to some few of those with whom he concurred then, they have left him, because they have left the Principles which they professed: He left neither," says this Writer: For Instance, he inveighs against publick Profusion, and private Corruption, &c.

To this it may be replied, That on the above-mentioned View of his Conduct, he doth not pursue the same general Principles with which he first set out: That whilst he concurred with the Governmet, he never opposed either publick Profusion, or private Corruption: That he himself shar-

ed the *Bounties*, and added to the Pensions of the Crown: That there hath been no more Cause to complain of either *Corruption* or *Profusion*, since he hath opposed the Government, than there plainly was whilst he had the Honour to concur with this Ministry: That the very Day of his Patriotism may be assigned, and we can date the Hour of its Birth: That the genuine Rise of his publick Spirit was from the Corruption of *his own Heart*: That, instead of having a Spirit which might have done Honour to a *Roman Citizen* in the *best* Times of the Common-wealth, a *Roman Citizen* would have been ashamed of his *self-interested* Spirit, even in the *worst* of those Times: That all his *Lifetime* he hath been upon Extremes; and, whilst he concurred with the Government, was as compliant to their Views, as if he had sat in the *Parliament of Paris*: Likewise, since he has opposed this Government, he hath been as unreasonably loud and vindictive against their Measures, as if he had been a Member of the *Polish Diet*: That whatever his Vanity may be at this Time, or however his *Mercenaries* may extol him, with how great Disdain soever he may treat this Minister, or with what Licentiousness soever he may revile him; yet there was a Time when he thought it the highest Honour, and first Distinction of his Life, to be ranked in the Number of that *Great Man's* Friends, whose very Name and Character hath given him the *small Consideration* which he hath found even in *his Opposition*.

They endeavour to make the Charge on this Gentleman ridiculous, by putting it into *Syllogism*: As thus; "He assisted a Minister in his Rise to Power; he opposes this Minister in Power; *Ergo*, Spight and Resentment are his Motives." Their *Logick* is as false as their *Politics*: The Syllogism fairly stated, is thus: "He concurred with a Minister whilst this Minister's Power was favourable to his Wishes. He opposed this Minister when he found his Power no longer favourable to his Wishes." All the World knows the Truth of these Propositions, and hence the certainty of the Conclusion, that *Spight and Revenge are his Motives*.

They ask, "May not the Abuse which he apprehends this Minister makes of his Power; may not Measures, which he fears are wicked, know to be weak, and sees obstinately pursued, be his Motives?" What a Heap of mere *Possibilities* are here started against a *positive* Charge? Let me recite a few Questions: "Did he not expect, and insist on a great Employment? Was he not disappointed and refused in this Expectation and Demand? Did not his Patriotism take its Rise here? Did not his Opposition begin from this very Fact?" Where then shall we look

look for Motives, but to *this Fact*? Had he been gratify'd, instead of being disappointed: Had he been comply'd with, instead of being refused, would he have *fear'd* any Wickedness, or have *found out* any Weakness in this Administration? I defy him and all his *Sophisters* to contradict me in this.

They ask, " May not *dangerous Ambition, insatiable Avarice, and insolent Behaviour* be his Provocations?" I ask, Have they not been his *Incentives*? If his Lust of Power, if his Appetite for Wealth, or if his over-bearing Spirit were *Secrets* with Mankind, I could crowd innumerable Pages with *irrefragable Proofs*.

They farther ask, " May not this Gentleman think himself the more obliged to contribute to this Minister's Fall, for having contributed so much to his Elevation?" Why, really I do not undertake to determine what he may think; but if these were his Thoughts, I should think him like a *capricious and whimsical Builder*, who had raised so fine a Structure for another Man, that the Beauty of the House vexed him to the Heart, and he thought himself obliged to pull it down again. If this then is the Gentleman's *Wisdom*, I wish he may long enjoy the *Renown* of it.

But I should be very glad to know wherein this *Important Person* contributed to the *Minister's Elevation*. For, If I remember rightly, this Minister brought the Gentleman into Places which he was no ways entitled to, and *when he was even more insignificant than he is at present*. To say that the *Creature* of this Minister's Greatness contributed to that Greatness, is altogether *new and false in Fact*; though on both Accounts entitled to a Place in their political System.

They then ask, " Whom shall they soonest suspect to be actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*, this Gentleman, or the Minister?" The Question is not fairly, Whom we shall *suspect*? for here is a *positive Charge*. Was not the Gentleman's *Anger* actuated by Sentiments of *private Interest*? Answer *This*. As to their Question, Whom shall we *soonest suspect*? Let those who consider the *sparing, scraping* Nature of the one, with the *frank, liberal* Heart of the other, fix the Charge of *sordid Views* on him, to whom they think it justly belongs.

It is next enquired, " Whose Circumstances most demanded, whose Family most required an Increase of Wealth and Fortune, the Gentleman or the Minister?" Indeed, I think, if the Gentleman's Family and Circumstances required it least, his Avarice is the most to be blamed. But since so much Difference between their Fortunes and Circumstances is perpetually made, I will shew the World what that Difference really is. The Gentleman

possesses

possesses an enormous Estate of above *Nine Thousand Pounds per Annum*, all acquired only by a *Secretary of the Treasury*. The Minister's Estate, far from being exorbitant, was acquired in so high Station, as at the *Head of that Treasury*, where the Gentleman's *little Possessions* were picked up by the *Secretary*; and which Possessions, he, this Gentleman, obtained the *Fee-simple* of, on *very easy Terms*, by the *Favour, Indulgence, and Assistance of that Minister*, whom he hath sworn to destroy.

They ask in another Place, "In whom have we seen " *strongest Evidence of that vindictive Temper, which " prompts to personal Spite and Resentment.*" I answer, In that *meek and humble Man*, whose *Vows of Destruction*, whose *horrid Imprecations and Outrage* have been fitter for *Hockley in the Hole*, than *St. Stephen's Chapel*: That *Christian and Lamb-like Patriot*, who hath been so *dutiful to the King*, so *complaisant to the Queen*, and so *religiously decent to all the Royal Family*: That original Pattern of *Humility and Moderation*, who has given many *divine Instructions* to his *loving Countrymen*: It is He, this Man of *Peace and Patience*, upon whom I think the Charge in the Question must fall. We all know how *easy* he is under all such Accusations. I dare say for myself I shall draw no Instances of a *vindictive Temper*, no *personal Spite and Resentment* from this *kind, good-natur'd Gentleman*; he is not used to be out of Humour, when any one tells him the Truth.

Finally, the *Craftsman* maintains, "That there is not " the least Colour of Reason to suppose that the Gentle- " man's Opposition proceeds from the Spirit of Ambition, " or a Design of pushing himself into the Administration." And why? *First*, he possessed the *War Office* many Years ago, which he laid down for the sake of this very Minister, who, he then supposed, would soon, from the publick Necessity, come into Power again, and be able to give him a *better Place*. *Secondly*, When that Minister came again into Power, this Gentleman was made *Cofferer to the Household*; which he forced the Ministers to take from him, when he would not be content with it; but was resolved to oppose them, that he might compel them to make him *Principal Secretary of State*. These are *two of the Proofs* which his judicious Advocate gives, that this worthy Man had no Ambition or Desire to be in the Administration. Now for the *Third*, it seems that since he hath despaired of gaining upon his Majesty's Favour, or of removing the faithful Servants of the King from the Councils of the Crown; since he hath been sensible that it is impossible that he should ever have a Share in the Administration, or any Office in the State: *I say, Since*

Since this hath been sensibly demonstrated to him, he hath made a *solemn Vow* never to accept a Place of Trust, or a Share in the Ministry as long as he lives; often declaring in the *House of Commons*, and publishing it now in the *Craftsman*: Thereby endeavouring to make *That* appear as his *Virtue* which is his *Fate*; and not his Election, but his *Destiny*.

Thus stand the Proofs of his *Disinterestedness*, his *Want of Ambition*, and his *Aversion to Power*. When he struggled for the *Seals*, he lost the *Cofferer's Place*. When the late King died, he again followed the Court, and worshipped the *Rising Sun*. When the *Civil List* came to be settled, though with those large *Appointments* which he hath since not *blush'd* to declaim at: When this, *I say*, was settled, dumb was his Voice, neither were there Words in his Mouth. But when the Ministry came to be settled, exclusive of his own Person, our *very flexible Patriot* again appeared with that *Inflexibility*, so worthy of a *Roman Citizen*, and yet so *very yielding*, whilst there were any Hopes of his being a *British Minister*.

Hitherto they always have constantly declined, and carefully avoided to mention or defend the Ministers employed in the *Four last Years* of the late *Queen Anne's* Reign. The *Craftsman*, in his *Libel upon Acts of Grace*, very modestly owns that he was not concerned to vindicate the late Earl of *Oxford*, or the Measures of his Administration. But now their Design is full-grown, and their Iniquity hath ripened to Maturity, they who were cautious to vindicate the Earl of *Oxford*, a Minister whose Character had some good Qualities, which his worst Enemies never denied, and whose Conduct had various Excuses, which Men of good Nature have always been willing to admit: Those Persons, *I say*, who have heretofore feared to enter upon his Defence, even they, are at length so advanced in their Schemes, that they have leaped all Bounds, have exceeded all Measures of Discretion, and have undertaken to palliate those Crimes which have ever been beyond Dispute, as they are without Example.

Whilst they so *vindictively* pursue the Person of another Minister, even to Destruction, for Crimes that have never been proved; and, for want of Capacity, tho' he hath triumphed for five Years together over all their Abilities, Industry and Power: Whilst they thus condemn him for Actions which themselves judged *innocent*, as also for Measures which they voted *honourable, just and necessary*; at the same time do they palliate *confessed Crimes*, and the most *notorious Corruption*, the most wicked Minister of our Times,

and

and the worst Measures that ever were carried on in our Country.

They say, That the *Honourable Person* who is at the Head of this Faction is wonderfully happy in the Applauses of his Country. I remember an Observation which the *Craftsman* made once in the Case of a great popular Magistrate of London, namely, That many Persons, in all Ages, have enjoyed the highest Degree of Popular Favour for some time, who least of all deserved it. But the Gentleman and his Friends seem to be under a very grievous Mistake in their Notions of his present Popularity: For his mercenary Nature, his vindictive Temper, and boundless Ambition, are too well understood. All Men of Sense see his self-interested Disposition. All Men know how ready he is to give up what he calls the Interest of his Country, by some Observations which every one made in the Opening of his present Majesty's Reign. All Men see how ready he is to give up his Prince, by his hasty and violent Opposition or the Settlement of the Ministry. And how eagerly disposed he is to give up the Constitution, may be seen by his intrepid Invasions of the King, and of the Royal Title. If this is Popularity, I leave him the Glory of it: But I can assure him, that all the Whigs in the Kingdom are duly sensible what these Measures tend to; and they who remember their Country in so much Distress, whilst the Co-partner of this virtuous Cause was a Minister, well understand what would be the Consequence, should they be able to distress the present Administration. What would be the Case of the British Allies, should a Person prevail among us who broke our Faith with all our Allies, and gave up the Honour of his native Country in all his Negotiations? What would be the Case of the Protestant Dissenters, should the Patron of the Schism-Bill come again into the Management of Parliamentary Councils? What would be the Case of our Merchants, should the Projector of the French Commerce Bill have the Direction of our Affairs? And indeed, What would be the Case of us all, should those who boast themselves our truest Patriots, be no better than his slavish Pupils?

I have taken these Pains, to shew these Gentlemen and their Principles in the strongest Light; because I think that no Man who is an Englishman and a Whig, can honestly or patiently submit to see Persons impose themselves as such upon the People of England, which very Persons have forfeited and abandoned those Characters in every Action. I have shew'd this altogether from their publick Behaviour. I scorn to enter into private Life; I abhor to copy from their ever-memorable Proper Reply, or from any of their other

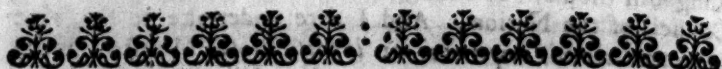
Filthy Libels, which have spared no *Family Affairs*, no *Personal Secrets*, or *Private Correspondencies*. And indeed their Practices have been so open to the World, that these Gentlemen have rendered it equally unnecessary, as it is really disagreeable to me to imitate them, in disclosing *Secret History*; as, on their *part*, they have found so little to accuse in the Publick Transactions of the Ministry, that from this very *Deficiency of Argument*, they have loaded their scandalous Libels with such an Abundance of *private and infamous Abuse*.

As I am to now conclude this Pamphlet, I must indulge the Pleasure of observing what a virtuous and uniform Conclusion Mr. Oldcastle lately hath made of his great Undertaking in the *Craftsman*. He hath, for the Course of the last Year, employed his able Pen in making Remarks on the History of England. He begun with professing a Design to raise the *Spirit of Liberty* against the Administration: He went on with libelling *all the Royal Family*, and ended with a Vindication of the late Lord B——— A noble Subject to raise a *spirit* on! Such is that *spirit* which acts against the Ministers: Such the *Invectives* and *Apologies* which come from these Men. In truth, I hope that they *who abuse this Ministry*, and *affront the Prince on the Throne*, will always vindicate such *honest Men as Lord B.* for then it will no longer remain a Doubt, for *whose Sake*, and with what *Design*, such wonderful Works are carried on.

I will add *one useful Reflection* to these Remarks: That the Man who had the Impudence to oppose His present most sacred Majesty, when he demanded a *Writ of Right*; I mean the *Writ of Summons* to Parliament, lawfully due to him, in consequence of his having been created *Duke of Cambridge*; and who afterwards caused the *Electors of Hanover's Minister* to be forbid the Court, for no other Crime, than having demanded that *Writ*: It is worthy of *such a Man*, to complain of *much Cruelty* done to himself, in being deprived of that *Peerage* which he forfeited by *High Treason*; and of that *Place in Parliament*, which he would not allow to a *Prince of the Blood*, an *Heir Apparent to the British Crown*, even our present most Gracious Sovereign; at the very same time too, when the Ministers poured into that House *Troops of their own Creatures*, even a *Dozen at one Creation*. An insolent, arbitrary Procedure, equally injurious to the Right of that *Illustrious Person*, and to the *Independency of the House of Peers*; since those who advised the *wicked Refusal*, assumed a greater Prerogative than the Crown of Great Britain is possessed of; namely, in excluding Peers from their Seats in Parliament by mere *Will and Pleasure*; as also in daring to deter-

mine

mine, by their own lawless Authority, what Peers of this Kingdom should, or should not, sit and vote in the Great Council of the Nation. And I dare undertake to say, that however wicked, imperious, or lawless those Ministers were in the Exercise of their Power, that still they would not have dared to have deny'd this Great Prince his Claim of Right to sit in Parliament, had they ever thought or intended that he should one Day be King of GREAT BRITAIN, and sit on the Throne of this Kingdom. Those who deny'd him the Right of His Peerage, would as freely have deny'd him his Rights of Succession: And if they should ever have it in their Power, they would with as little Scruple deny him his Seat in the Throne, as they once deny'd him his Seat in the House of Lords.



An ANSWER to one Part of a late infamous LIBEL, Intituled, REMARKS on the CRAFTSMAN'S Vindication of his two Honourable PATRONS; in which the Character and Conduct of Mr. P. is fully vindicated. In a Letter to the most noble AUTHOR.

Hominem esse arbitror neminem, qui Istius audierit, quin Facta quoque Ejus nefaria commemorare possit; ut mihi magis timendum sit ne multa Crimina prætermittere, quàm ne qua in Istum fingere existimer. C I C.

Most Noble SIR,

THE Mask hath been long taken off on your Side. It is now high Time to take it off on the other; since your private Insolence is grown as insupportable as your publick Corruption. I shall therefore speak to you without any Disguise, and shew you in that Light to the World, which your Practices deserve. I know your Power, and your scandalous Abuse of it; but That shall not deter me from describing you in your proper Colours. You may, if you please, indulge your little Rage against *Printers and Booksellers*. You may endeavour to prevent the Discovery of your Guilt, and suppress all Writings, except your own, by *arbitrary Warrants, Seizures and Prosecutions*. You may go on in misapplying the *publick Treasure*, and prostituting your *Royal Master's Name* in your own dirty Service. But you shall know, Sir, that you have Men to deal with, and whilst there is an Hand

able

able to write, or a Press open in the Kingdom, your infamous Scurrility shall not go unanswer'd.

In your *last Libel*, which bears the most evident Marks of its Parent, You have been pleas'd to load *two Gentlemen* with such unprecedented Abuse as no Heart but yours could dictate, and nothing but your Power could usher into the World — What a Pleasure must it be to reflect that your *Character* alone is sufficient to destroy the Effects of your *Rage*? But since you have given us so fair an opening, it may be of use to let the World into some farther Particulars.

I shall confine my self, in this Letter, to the Character of *one of these Gentlemen*, with whose Conduct in general I am best acquainted, and from whom I have had an Opportunity, from a long Intimacy, of receiving particular Information concerning those *secret Transactions*, which you have thought fit to disclose, and could not otherwise lye open to my own Observation.

It cannot be expected that I should enter into any Defence of the Administration and Measures of the *four last Years of Queen ANNE*, because the *Gentleman*, whose Vindication I have undertaken, opposed most of those Measures, and still condemns them; but may not *two Gentlemen*, who formerly differ'd about the Conduct of publick Affairs, concur in their Sentiments about the Conduct of Affairs at present, without any Imputation on their Characters, or any Regard to what was done almost twenty Years ago? If the *Ministers* of those Times did many things ill, have not you, Sir, done things ten Times worse? Were there, at that Time, any *unlimited Votes of Credit*? Was there such a scandalous Profusion of *Pensions* and *secret Service Money*? The Necessity they brought themselves under of making a Peace with *France* render'd them dependent on *France*, and they were oblig'd to submit to unequal Terms compared with the vast Successes we had, during the War; but can you, Sir, offer to reproach *those Ministers*, and upbraid them with *those Measures*; you, Sir, who have brought your Country, by a continued Series of Blunders, into Circumstances infinitely worse than they left it? — The *Gentle-*

man, whom I defend is consistent with himself. He could not approve the Treaty of *Utrecht*, much less could he approve the Treaty of *Seville*, or any other of your *late Treaties*.——He condemn'd the Measures of the *four last Years of Queen ANNE*; and he, *à fortiori*, condemns your Measures for the *last ten Years*, upon the same Principles of Reasoning; for whatever Miscarriages, or even Misdemeanours may be justly charged upon those Times, you, Sir, are the last Person in the Kingdom, who ought to reproach the Ministers with them, since your own Conduct is an ample Apology for them——With what Design then are these Things mentioned? What pass'd so many Years ago cannot be recalled; and if any thing was done amiss, the only Use of reviving those Transactions is, to avoid the same Errors in our present Conduct. But this is not your Design. You are in Hopes of diverting the Attention of the Publick from your *own Actions*. You want to put us off from the Scent of what is doing at present, and draw us into a Dispute about things which pass'd in another Administration. You may think your self extremely cunning in trying this Stratagem; but no body will be so weak as to bite at the Bait.

Before I enter into the particular Branches of the Charge, which you have exhibited against this *Gentleman*, without any Foundation of Truth or Honour, I must take Notice that it is impossible to collect thro' the whole Course of your *Remarks*, to whom you impute *that Letter*, which occasion'd this Piece of Scurrility. Sometimes it is Lord B. sometimes Mr. P. whom you call the Patrons of the *Craftsman*; and, in other Places, it is the *Craftsman* himself——Let us therefore state the Case fairly between *You* and the *Gentleman*, whom I defend.

A Letter is published in the *Craftsman*, in which some Compliments are paid to *this Gentleman*; whose Character, perhaps, is set off to a greater Advantage than it deserves. His Conduct in publick Life is very highly commended; and you, Sir, who was always his Enemy, thought this a sufficient Foundation to revile, abuse and asperse him, by way of Answer, and to load him with all the Calumny, that you could possibly crowd into a *Billingsgate Pamphlet*,

let, without enquiring whether he so much as knew of the Honour intended him; or, if he did, whether he approved it or not. It is very possible he might not like the many fine things which were said of him, and could have wished they had never been said; but surely nothing can justify such an Heap of Scurrility as is contained in *this Libel*—Don't think to retort the Charge upon us, by saying that we attack you in the same manner, without enquiring whether you was the Author of *this Pamphlet*, or approved of it. We know very well that you have already taken Pains to disown it, for fear of a Reply; but there are several Passages of *secret History* in it, falsely stated and misrepresented, which could come from no body but your self. You might, perhaps, employ some of your *Mercenaries* to work them up for you; but the Ingredients are certainly your own.

I am told that you have lately taken the most eminent Authors of the *Dunciad* into your Pay, and employ them in your Cause, either for Offence or Defence, as Occasion requires. The *late Pieces*, utter'd in your Service, seem to put this Point beyond all Dispute. As much as you affected to despise all *Writers*, you was oblig'd at last to fly to them for Protection. You beat up for *Voluntiers*; but it was too late. No Man, of *Parts and Honesty*, would list in your Service, notwithstanding the large *Bounty-Money* you offered, and the numerous *Recruiting-Officers* you employed in your Service. You have, indeed, a numerous Body of Troops in your Pay; but what are they? A loose, disorderly Rabble; a meer *Turkish Army of Scriblers*, well enough adapted to your *own Politicks*.—— But let us come to the Subject of this Letter.

The first Point you undertake to prove against *this Gentleman* is, that “ He hath changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government, and renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly professed.

To support this Accusation, you are pleas'd to tell us, “ That he hath attacked the Royal Title to the Crown, and invaded the Prince on the Throne; “ invaded him even in open Parliament, by charging

" him with having broken the Terms of the *Act of Settlement* ; by insisting that the *Act of Settlement* is his Majesty's only Tenure, by which he holds his Crown ; by suggesting that the Care of his *foreign Dominions* was in Breach of *that Act*, and leaving others to conclude that the Terms were broken, the Title was forfeited, and the Throne was thereby become vacant."— You then ask, in your great Candour, " whether any Title in this World was ever impeached, but with a View to change the Possession?"

This is such an extraordinary Chain of Reasoning, and at the same Time such an infamous Misrepresentation of Fact, absolutely void of all Regard to Truth, that I will condescend, for once, to give it a particular Examination.

The *Gentleman* accused in this Manner, hath thought himself oblig'd, upon several Occasions, to oppose the Continuance of 12000 *Hessian Troops* in the Pay of *Great Britain*, which amounts to a yearly *Land-Tax of Six-pence in the Pound*, and hath already cost the Nation above 1200000*l.* Amongst other Reasons for discharging *these Troops*, he mentioned the *Act of Settlement*, which hath wisely provided that *Great Britain* shall never be at any Expence, on Account of any *foreign Dominions*, which may happen to belong to her future Kings, *without the Consent of Parliament*. The *Gentleman*, whom I defend, endeavour'd to persuade the *House*, as a *Member of Parliament* hath a Right to do, not to dispense with this Limitation in the present Case; because he apprehended that the Continuance of *these Troops* could be of no Service, and were certainly of a very great Expence to this Nation. What he said, upon this Head, was not intended as a Charge against the *King*, but only as a Motive to the *House of Commons*, by putting them in Mind that it tended to invalidate, and was in Contravention to one of the Limitations of the *Act of Settlement*.—He might take Notice, perhaps, that too much Regard had been paid to his Majesty's *German Dominions*; but I am sure he never said that this was a Breach of the *Act of Settlement*. He might observe that the *Act of Settlement was the only Tenure, by which his Majesty holds*

holds his Crown; and I will defy you, Sir, to mention any other *Tenure*, upon which he can depend——It is the *strongest* and *most glorious Tenure*, by which any Prince can hold his Crown.

Thus stands the *Fact*; and I will leave the World to determine whether any Man, who had any Regard to Decency, Conscience, or even common Honesty, would put such an Interpretation upon Words so very innocent, and even laudable in themselves——Is this *attacking the Royal Title to the Crown*?——Is this *invading the Prince on the Throne*?——Is this *charging him with having broken the Act of Settlement, and leaving others to conclude that the Throne is become vacant*?——No, Sir, I believe there was not one Man in the whole House, who concluded this to be his Meaning, except yourself; and I would even appeal to your own Judgment, if I could put any Trust in your Declarations.

The *Act of Settlement* is a complicated Bill, consisting of various Conditions, some of much less Importance than others; which are left to the farther Discretion of Parliament——For Instance, there is one Clause of a very essential Nature, which limits the Succession of the Crown to the *present Royal Family*, as long as they continue *Protestants*. I think I may call this indispensable; because it is the Foundation of the *present Establishment*——There was another Clause in it, which prohibited the Possessor of the Throne from going out of the Kingdom *without Consent of Parliament*. This was repealed soon after his late Majesty's Accession; but supposing it had not been repealed, and that a sudden Exigence of State had made it necessary for his late Majesty to go out of the Kingdom, before he could call his Parliament together for their Consent; will any Man say, that even in this Case he would have *forfeited his Title to the Crown*? No Man certainly would say it. As the Condition was not *fundamental* in itself, so an occasional Deviation from it, on a particular extraordinary Emergence, could not have been interpreted a *Forfeiture of the Royal Title*.——In like Manner, if any bad Consequences should hereafter arise from the Repeal of this Limitation

mitation (suppose for Instance, that some future Prince should think fit to reside chiefly abroad) might not any *Member of the House of Commons* complain of it, and offer his Reasons for putting it in Force again, without incurring such a grievous Imputation as that of *attacking the Royal Title, and declaring the Throne vacant*? Is there not a manifest Difference between the King's obtaining the *Consent of his Parliament*, upon such an Occasion, and breaking through these Limitations without their Authority? — But no body can be surprized at such monstrous Constructions in *One* who hath used his utmost Endeavours to bring all our Liberties into Contempt, in order to make the Conquest of them more easy.

Believe me, good Sir, that whenever you endeavour to fix *Jacobitism* upon *this Gentleman*, you will always miscarry in your Design. Such Insinuations will never find Credit in any Place, unless it be in a *certain Closet*, where you have frequent Opportunities of working upon the Passions by false Representations, and instilling the Sentiments of your own *bad Heart*, without Contradiction. I dare say *this Closet* is the only Place in the Kingdom, where your Assertions can gain any Belief, or where the *Gentleman*, whom you traduce, can be thought a *Jacobite*, even for half an Hour. — Good God! what a Multitude of *Falshoods* must you have told in *this Closet*? There is a current Report, that the *Person* with whom you converse there, hath lately detected you in some of them, and hath told you very plainly that you *lyed*; nay, as he knows you Thoroughly, and must hate you heartily, that he hath likewise given you some *certain Appellations*, which, however justly they may belong to you, I think, at present, a little too harsh for me to repeat in publick.

The Gentleman whom I defend, was not only educated in *Whig Principles*, but hath always, and I dare say, will always act upon them. He was ever zealously attached to the Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family. He is still zealous for the Support of it; and if, by the Influence of your pernicious Counsels, the Affections of the People should ever be so far alienated as to bring his Majesty's

Title

Title into Dispute or Danger, (which God forbid!) he will venture his Life and Fortune as far as any Man in the Defence of it.——He cannot at the same time be so great a Sycophant, as to say, *That the People are allowed greater Liberties than ever were at any time heretofore known, or enjoyed amongst us.* We enjoy the *Liberties* we ought to enjoy, and no more. We have as good a Right to them, as the King hath to his *Crown*.

Another Proof that *this Gentleman* hath deserted his old *Principles*, is, “ That he hath gone over to the *Tories*, and constantly votes in Conjunction with a “ Body of Men, sworn Enemies to *Whigs*, to *Whig* “ *E Establishments*, and to all *Whig Principles*——” But how does this appear? his *voting in Conjunction with the Tories*, is no Proof that *he hath gone over to the Tories*, any more than *their voting in Conjunction with him*, is a Proof that *they are come over to him*, so as to be led and govern’d by him. Does he concur with them in any thing but *Whig Points*, upon *Whig Principles*, and in Opposition to Measures destructive of the Constitution? — But why is *this Gentleman* particularly mark’d out as Convert to the *Tories*? If *voting in Conjunction with the Tories*, is to be look’d on as going over to the *Tories*, this Charge will equally include *all the Gentlemen in the Minority*, who have the Honour to dissent from you within Doors. It will include *that great Majority of the Nation*, which openly inveighs against your Measures without Doors. Nay, it will include even *your own dear self*, and I will undertake to prove you to have been a *Jacobite* (pray, Sir, don’t startle at the Name) by the same Rule——Did not you formerly vote in Conjunction with the very same Persons, when you distinguished your self by the Name of a *Country Gentleman*? — Did you not act in concert with them upon all Occasions; and was you not as much led and govern’d by them as *this Gentleman*? Were the *Tories* less Enemies to *Whigs*, *Whig Establishments*, and *Whig Principles* at that Time, than they are at present?——Did you then discover any Qualms at the Transactions of the *four last Years of Queen Anne*; or think yourself obliged in Conscience never to join with a Set of Gentlemen, when

when you thought them *in the Right*, because you formerly thought them *in the Wrong*?——I will go farther, Sir, and maintain you have been a *Jacobite*, according to your own Doctrine, and in the Interest of the *Pretender*, even since your last blest Restoration to Power?——Have you not taken several *Tories*, *veteran Tories* (I will not call them *Jacobites*) into your Administration——Was not one of them excepted out of an *Act of Grace* in his late Majesty's Reign; and did not others lye under the same Imputation of Disaffection?——Did you “not constantly vote in Conjunction, and act in “concert with these Men?” I am loth to rake up the Ashes of the Dead, though you are pleas'd to tell us, “That neither Decency nor Modesty forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation;” but the Reader's Reflection will spare me that ungrateful Task; and I believe it would be no difficult Matter to point out *some Persons* of the same Stamp, amongst the *present Copartners of your Power*; or, if that Expression should give you Offence, the Instruments of your *Administration*.——Shall we then say that you are gone over to the *Tories*?——Shall we presume to insinuate, that the *most noble Knight* is turn'd a *Jacobite*, and suffers himself to be governed by Men, who oppos'd the Revolution, and labour'd for many Years with all their Might, to impose the *Pretender* on the *British Nation*?——God forbid!——I know very well that you have a Distinction in Reserve, which hath been often made use of by you and your *ingenious Mercenaries*, upon these Occasions. It is compriz'd in a very laconick Stile, and runs thus.——“When a *Tory* “or a *Jacobite*, or a *Papist* comes into my Measures, it is a plain Sign that he is a very good *Whig*; “but when any *known Whig*, who opposes me, happens to concur with a *reputed Tory*, nothing can be “more evident than that he hath deserted his Principles, is turn'd a *Jacobite*, and hath a Design of “bringing in the *Pretender*.”

But give me leave to tell you, *dear Sir*, that such Stuff will not pass. The senseless Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory* is, God be prais'd, almost sunk in a general Concern for the national Interest; and will, I hope,

I hope, be soon intirely abolished, notwithstanding all your Endeavours, for vile Ends, to keep those fatal Animosities alive. The *Whigs*, who oppose you, are neither govern'd by the *Tories*, nor are the *Tories* govern'd by them; but they act in Concert together (and may they long continue to do so!) because it is their united Opinion, that you are a *wicked*, as well as a *weak Minister*, and have almost brought this Nation to the Brink of Ruin.

The next Charge against *this Gentleman*, is, That he opposes the *King's Affairs* in general, and attempts to distress the publick Service in every Branch of the Government.

I presume, noble Sir, you would have the *King's Affairs*, and the publick Service understood in this Paragraph, as synonymous Terms; and so indeed they ought always to be understood. If this is your Meaning, I defy you to prove that the *Gentleman*, whom you accuse, opposes the *King's Affairs* in general, or attempts to distress the publick Service; that is, to obstruct any thing, which is evidently calculated for the true Interest of the Nation. I could give several Instances of national Points, which are chiefly owing to him. I could mention several others, which he hath been very instrumental in promoting, and many more, which he never attempted to defeat, since his Opposition to you. Nay, even in the *King's own private Affairs*, he hath shewn all the Regard for his Majesty's Honour, and the Dignity of the Crown, which is consistent with the good of the Publick. You are pleased, good Sir, to reproach him with one Instance of this Kind, of which I shall take notice in its proper Place. — But if you include your self and your own dirty Projects (as I very much suspect you do) in the general Terms of the *King's Affairs*, and the publick Service, it must be confessed indeed, that *this Gentleman* hath constantly opposed them, and, I hope, will always attempt to distress them. — It is the most shining Part of his Character, and will transmit his Name with Honour to Posterity.

I do not remember that he struggled to put off the common Supplies of the present Year; but if he did, would any *Whig*, of former Times, have reproached him

him with it ; or call'd it acting like a *Tory* ?—— If he saw a manifest Design of hurrying on the *Session*, and precipitating the *Supplies*, was he to blame in endeavouring to keep them back a little, when no urgent Necessity press'd for the Dispatch of them, that the *House* might have Time to look into *other Affairs*, and pass some *other useful Bills*, as well as *Money-Bills* ?—— Is this, I say, going over to the *Tories*, or acting upon *Tory Principles* ?

I could produce Instances of Times, when even the *common and necessary Supplies for the current Service of the Year* have been oppos'd and refused in *Whig Parliaments*, in order to distress a *corrupt Ministry*, whom they did not think proper to be intrusted with the publick Money ; and I could mention *some much wiser Men than your self*, who have acted upon this Principle, in former Reigns, and justify'd their Conduct upon it ; but this would be needless ; because here again we are authorized by your *own illustrious Example* ; for how will you be able to vindicate your own Conduct either in the *late Reign*, or in that of *Queen Anne*, upon any other Principle ?—— Will you offer to say that you never voted against the *common Supplies*, or attempted to distress the publick Service ?—— Look into the *Defection consider'd*, and see what is there said of you upon this Head—— The Thing is so notorious, that it would be arrant Trifling to enter into the Proof of it ; and I believe, even *You* will hardly have the Front to deny it.

This Gentleman is farther charged with having lately declared his Opinion, *that not one Treaty, signed within these sixteen Years, was even made, or so much as intended, for the Good of this Kingdom.*

I heartily wish, not for *your Sake*, but for the Good of the *Publick*, that there may not be too much Truth in this Declaration ; which can appear only by a particular Examination of *those Treaties* ; and this cannot be done at present.

But, in order to aggravate the Guilt of this Declaration, it is added, " That the *Gentleman accus'd* formerly voted those very *Treaties* honourable, and asserted those *Alliances* to be necessary, which he now condemns"—— This is another downright Falshood.

hood. He is not answerable for any of those *silly Treaties*, which the Course of *sixteen Years* have produced. As he had no Share in the Negotiation of them, so it never fell in in his Way, till very lately, to express any Opinion of them in Parliament. Whilst he was in Employment, his Business was of another Nature, and he is at full Liberty to declare, without any Inconsistency, that not one of the *Treaties* made within this Time, would have been necessary, if it was not for his Majesty's *German Dominions*. The *first Treaty*, that was made, in the Year 1716, was for the Sake of the *Emperor's general Guaranty of all Dominions*, which each of the contracting Parties possessed at that time. What Use could the Emperor's Guaranty be of to the *British Dominions*, or the *Protestant Succession*? We live in an Island, of great maritime Force, and can support our selves and our own Possessions, without any other Guaranty than the Affections of the People.— But the *Emperor's Guaranty* is apparently of the utmost Service to his Majesty's foreign *Dominions*.—— The *Quadruple Alliance* was form'd, when this Gentleman was abroad; and all that plentiful Crop of *Treaties*, which hath been produced since, are but of very little Use to *Great Britain*, as her Interest is solely concern'd; so that in this Particular likewise the Gentleman is intirely consistent with himself.

I believe this will be thought a sufficient Answer to the different Branches of the Charge brought against the Gentleman, whom I defend, *that he hath changed his Notions of Right and Wrong in Matters of Government, and renounced the Principles of good Policy, which he formerly profess'd.*

If the Conduct of your Life, *Most Noble Sir*, was to be scrutiniz'd in the same Manner, what an odd Medley of Inconsistencies should we discover? for though You was educated in *Whig Principles* as well as this Gentleman, you have not only acted in concert with *Tories*, upon several Occasions, but adopted the worst Principles, in your late Conduct, that the most extravagant Bigots of that Party ever advanced—— Scarce two Years together of your Life have been of a Piece—— You have been an intemperate Zealot against *France*; a most obsequious

ous Dupe to *France* ; and seem to be now relapsing into your old Aversion to *France* again—— You have courted and provoked *Spain* by Turns, in the same capricious Manner, without any good Reason for *either*——It was not long ago that *you* and your *Mercenaries* asserted, that the Peace of *Utrecht* left *France* too weak, and made the *Emperor* too strong ; but your Change of Measures hath altered your Opinion in that Point.—— In short, you have gone from Court to Court, fluctuated from Expedient to Expedient, knock'd down one Treaty with another, and trod in a constant Circle of Inconsistencies and Contradictions.

But now, *Sir*, as your Blood grows warm, you advance in your Charge, and bring a heavier Accusation against *this Gentleman* than that of having changed his Notions in Matters of Government. You accuse him of Corruption. The Words are, *that whilst he concurred with the Government, he never opposed either publick Profusion, or private Corruption ; that he himself shared the Bounties, and added to the Pensions of the Crown.*

Would not any one, upon reading this Paragraph, conclude that Mr. P. hath frequently obtained *beneficial Grants*, and been a constant *Pensioner* on the Crown ? And yet he defies the whole World to prove that he ever received any Thing from the Crown but a Present, which his late Majesty made him, of the *Journals of Parliament*. You once descended so low as to reproach him with this Present in the *House* ; but so much to your own Shame and Confusion, that I thought you would never have ventur'd to mention it again. Surely, it little becomes you to reproach any Body with what they obtain from the *Crown*. A Man, who hath had so many Grants, and such a Number of great Employments for himself and his Family, shou'd be always silent on this Head.—— This brings to my Mind a most pitiful, little, dirty Job of yours, which I believe is not publickly known.

When the *late King* went abroad, and both the *Secretaries* attended him (from some Jealousy, perhaps, of each other) it was necessary to appoint another for carrying on the Business at home ; and left some-

Somebody, whom you did not like, should be appointed, you offer'd to do the Business *yourself*; which was little more than transmitting the Letters, and other Things of Form; but though you had scarce any Trouble in this Affair; though you had, God knows, many other lucrative Employments; and though you was in it only as a Stop-gap, for a few Months; yet you paid yourself the *full Appointments* for the Time; nay, what is still more monstrous, gave your self the very *Plate*, as if you had actually been made *Secretary of State* in Firm, and for a Continuance. I believe I may add, that this is not the only Instance, in which you have sign'd the Warrant, as *Head of the Treasury*, for paying your self in *other Employments*—— Why, all the *Journals* together did not, I dare say, cost so much as even your *Plate* only, for being *Secretary* but four Months—— Well; but hath not *this Gentleman* had a *Pension*? No; you know he scorns it, and wonders how any Man of Honour can submit to take one—— Hath he recommended any *poor Relation*, or *Friend*, for a *Pension*? No; not for *Twenty Pounds a Year*—— What then can be meant by this Passage, *that he hath added to the Pensions of the Crown*? Why, a scandalous Insinuation, reflecting on the Character of a *noble Person*, who is infinitely your Superior; *One*, to whose Father you owe the greatest Obligations; *One*, who hath all the Honour, Virtue and Integrity of his Father; and whom I should be unwilling even to vindicate from so foul an Aspersion, if you had not often repeated the same Thing in private Conversation.

You would have it understood, *Sir*, by this Passage, that the *Gentleman's* insisting to be made *Cofferer* rendered it necessary for you to provide some other Employment for the *Person*, who enjoy'd it, and that this oblig'd you to give him the great Employment, he now enjoys, which you have the Insolence to call a *Pension*, and to say that the Gentleman I defend oblig'd you to add, in this Manner, to the *Pensions of the Crown*—— The Truth of the Case is this. When that great Inheritance devolv'd to this *honourable Person*, it was generally imagined that some Compliments (*how little desirous*

soever he might be of them himself) would be paid to him, by an Increase of *Honours*, an Offer of the *Garter*, or the like, and that this Employment would be scarce worth troubling himself with any longer. Upon this Foot it was mentioned by a Friend of Mr. P. to the *Minister*; and upon this Foot, and no other, he expressed his Inclination to accept of it; but he had not the Vanity to think himself of consequence enough to thrust out this *noble Person*, for whom he always had the highest Esteem, and to force him into the Circumstance of becoming (as you insolently assert) a *Pensioner on the Crown*.——My Regard for the Honour of this *great Person*, hath made me dwell longer on this Point; and if he hath formerly had any Regard or Partiality for the *Author of this Obloquy*, I dare say he will for the future, look on him with that Contempt, which such a vile Insinuation deserves.

As for the *Gentleman* whom I defend, you tell us, *That the genuine Rise of his publick Spirit, was from the Corruption of his own Heart*.——Alas! dear Sir, the *Corruption of thy Heart and Hands* too hath been long ago recorded; but as the Corruption of *this Gentleman* hath been hitherto a Secret to the World, you would do mighty well to give us some Instances of it.——If you had any such Anecdotes in your Power, I presume we should have seen them long ago.

If you mean, Sir, that *this Gentleman* is answerable for all the *Pensions, Bribes and Gratuities*, which you have thought fit to lavish away upon your *Creatures, Dependents and Advocates*, in order to defeat his Opposition, and support your self in Power, against the general Clamour of the Nation; I am afraid I have undertaken a very difficult Task; for if this Load of *Corruption* ought to be saddled upon him as the original Cause of it, how shall I defend him?——Don't you remember the Case of another publick Plunderer, of a lower Rank, who endeavoured to screen himself from Punishment by bribing the *Jury*; and, being detected in it, laid all the Blame upon his *Prosecutors*, and the *Court*, whom he charg'd with having entered into a manifest Combination to take away his Life?

But

But you tell us, "That there was a Time when he thought it the highest Honour and first Distinction of his Life, to be ranked in the Number of that great Man's Friends (*meaning your self*) whose very Name and Character have given him the small Consideration, which he hath found even in his Opposition."

Very modestly said truly! ——— The only Misfortune is, that this likewise happens to be false, like most of your other Assertions; for I am well assured, that *this Gentleman* was so far from ever *thinking it the highest Honour and the first Distinction of his Life, to be ranked in the Number of your Friends*, that at the very Time when he acted with you, and endeavoured to support you, he had much the same Opinion of your *private Character*, which he hath at present. Do you think that all those who who play'd at *Nine pins* with you in the *Tower*, had, for that Reason, any Regard for you, on account of your *personal Integrity*, any more than many Persons, who act with you at present? ——— No; these are the unhappy Effects of *Party Prejudices*, which often depress Men of the greatest Abilities, whilst the most unworthy are exalted. Have we not an Instance of this, in the Case of the *other Gentleman*, aspersed in your *Libel*, who hath been prevented by this Misfortune, from exerting his unquestionable Capacities in the Service of his Country, whilst such a *Pedlar in Politicks* as your self, have been thrust up into the highest Station, and had the Power of acting so long, to the infinite Dishonour and Detriment of the Nation.

But supposing the *Gentleman*, under Consideration, ever really had that high Opinion of you which you and your *Dunciad Advocates* are willing to make the World believe! what is it to the Purpose? ——— Is it not possible for a Man, who sets out in the World with a *good Character*, to forfeit it afterwards? and is it necessary for every Person, who was his Friend, whilst he seemed to act upon *honest Principles*, to continue so, when his Actions discover the contrary? ——— Your great Predecessors, *Sejanus, Wolsey and Buckingham*, might be very *honest Men*, for ought I know, before their Heads were

turned giddy with exorbitant Power, and any Person, perhaps, might have been proud of their Friendship; but would any honest Man have continued in it, after they began to lord it over their Country, in so licentious and insolent a Manner?—Indeed, Sir, you should never insist on these Topicks in your *Libels*. They may do well enough in a *popular Assembly*, where you are sure of being heard with Patience at least; but you should never trust such idle Trash in *Print*!

In order to vindicate *this Gentleman* from the Charge of acting from Motives of *Disappointment* and *Revenge* (with which our Ears have been almost stunn'd for above these *four Years past*) it was ask'd, in the *Craftsman*, “Whether the Abuse which he apprehends you make of your Power? Whether Measures, which he fears are wicked, knows to be weak, and sees obstinately pursued, may not be his Motives?” To this you reply, *What an Heap of meer Possibilities are here started against a positive Charge?*—Pray, good Sir, how is this a *positive Charge*?—For want of *Facts* against *this Gentleman*, of which every Body is a Judge, you accuse him of acting from *bad Motives*, of which God only can judge; and then call this a *positive Charge*?—We might as justly surmise that the Design of your long Endeavours to engross all Power to your self, and of accumulating Wealth in so exorbitant a Manner, was to *supplant the present Royal Family, and set your self on the Throne*. I say, we might accuse you of *such a Design*, and then call this *supposed Motive* a *positive Charge*, as justly as you accuse *this Gentleman* of acting from Motives of *Disappointment* and *Revenge*; nay, we might accuse you of it more justly; because the *Facts*, of *accumulating Wealth* and *engrossing Power*, upon which we might found our Accusation, are notorious and undeniable; whereas you are intirely destitute of any *Facts* to support your Charge.

But you desire to ask a few Questions—*Did he not expect, say you, and insist on a great Employment? Was he not disappointed and refused in this Expectation and Demand?* I say, positively, *No*; and the Proof lies upon *You*. Such a *positive Charge* as this

this will admit of no other Answer than a *positive Denial*——But of this more hereafter.

Taking this Fact to be granted (*that he expected and insisted on a great Employment*) you go on most triumphantly in the following Strain——“ Had he “ been gratify’d, instead of being disappointed; had “ he been comply’d with, instead of being refused; “ would he have feared any *Wickedness*, or have “ found out any *Weakness* in this Administration? I “ defy him, *say you*, and all his Sophisters to contra- “ dict me in this.”——With what *Folly* and *Nonsense* do these few Words abound? For,

First, it seems to be acknowledged by your self, in this Paragraph, that you have been guilty both of *Wickedness* and *Weakness* in your Administration; and the only Suggestion is, that the *Gentleman*, against whom it is levelled, would neither have feared the one, or found out the other, had he been gratify’d in his Expectations, but would have conniv’d at both, like the present *Instruments of your Power*——What an excellent Defence hast thou here made of thy Administration; and what infinite Satisfaction must it give the good People of *England*? “ It is true, “ indeed, *say You*, that I have been guilty of a great “ deal of *Wickedness* and *Weakness*; but you may “ even set your Hearts at ease, *Gentlemen*; for I as- “ sure you, upon my Word and Honour, that if I “ had gratify’d Mr. P. in his Expectations, he would “ have let me gone on; in the same Manner, as “ quietly as those, whom I have substituted in his “ Room.”

But, farther, these Words are as full of *Nonsense*, as they are of *Folly*——We are defied to contra- dict you in this——In what?——Why, that Mr. P. would not have been as wicked as yourself, and your Instruments, if he had succeeded in his supposed Expectations——We certainly could contradict you in This; but it is not our Way, to contradict any Man without some Proof; and this is a Point which will admit of none; for who can decide upon Con- tingencies? Who can pretend absolutely to determine what any *Gentleman* would have done in such a Case? For my Part, I will not be so great a Flatterer of this *Gentleman*, tho’ I have undertaken his

Defence, as to say what he would, or would not have done: But thus much I may say without any such Imputation, that all the probable Circumstances are against you from *this Gentleman's* former Behaviour, when in Employment. — Did he discover any *Weakness* or *Incapacity* to discharge those Offices which he hath had the Honour to fill: — Was he ever guilty of any *Weakness* and *Corruption* in them himself? or did he ever screen the *Wickedness* and *Corruption* of others? — We may therefore suppose, that if *this Gentleman* had been in Employment, he would not have given you an Opportunity of being guilty of so much *Weakness* and *Wickedness*; or, at least, not have concurr'd with you in any Measures, which he apprehended to be either *wicked* or *weak* — Sure we are, that he oppos'd you in several favourite Points, whilst he was in Place; and this will immediately appear to be the Reason why he was thought not to be a proper Person to be continued in it.

Your next Paragraph deserves no Answer. When you are pleas'd to give us those *irrefragable Proofs* of *this Gentleman's* *Lust of Power*, *Appetite for Wealth*, and *over-bearing Spirit*, with which you say you could crowd innumerable Pages, We may be induc'd to take them into Consideration. At present, it will be sufficient to observe that *these Marks* most certainly distinguish your Character, whatever Analogy they may bear to that of the *Gentleman*, whom I defend.

You seem very angry that *this Gentleman* should be said to have contributed to your *Elevation*; and I promise you, he is very far from taking any Glory to himself from that Circumstance of his Life.

" I should be glad, say you, to know wherein this
 " *important Person* contributed to the Minister's E-
 " *levation*. — I shall not stop here to satisfy
 you in this particular; because I shall be able, before
 I go much further, to convince you, in some Mea-
 sure, out of your own Mouth — you proceed
 thus. " If I remember rightly, *this Minister* (mean-
 " ing your self again) brought the *Gentleman* into
 " Places, which he was no Ways intitled to, and
 " when he was even more insignificant than he is
 " at present. — Why really, Sir, bringing People into
 Places

Places to which they are no ways intitled, hath been one of the most distinguishing Parts of your Life; but if you brought *this Gentleman* into Place, You was certainly a little inconsistent with your self, according to the Confession of one of your *Creatures*, if not *your self*; for in that ever-memorable Libel, properly called *Defamation Display'd*, it is said that "this Gentleman came into the World with all the Advantages that recommend Men to the Esteem, Favour and Approbation of Mankind."—— But, perhaps, you might have been so good as to make him a Present of all these Advantages, at the same Time that you gave him his Places.

You seem, Sir, to have quite forgot your own Circumstances at the Time, when *this Gentleman* was first advanc'd to a publick Employment. "Whatever He might be, every Body knows that You, Sir, was much more insignificant at that Time than you are at present; and you might as well have said that he was rais'd by a *Wretch*, who had not Credit enough to raise an hundred Pounds upon his own Security."

You are now pleas'd to enter into the Examination whom We shall soonest suspect of being actuated by Sentiments of private Interest, *this Gentleman*, or the *Minister*; that is your self; and you determine it thus.

—— "As to the Question, whom shall We soonest suspect? Let those, who consider the sparing, scraping Nature of the one, with the frank, liberal Heart of the other, fix the Charge of sordid Views on Him, to whom they think it justly belongs."

For my Part, I really never heard that *Avarice* was a distinguishing Quality in *this Gentleman's* Character, till *You* and your *dirty Mercenaries* endeavour'd to asperse him with it, to serve your own scandalous Purposes; nor will any Body, who hath the Honour to know him, believe it, though you should redouble your Pains to fix that Aspersions upon him.

—— I believe, it would be no difficult Matter to produce several Instances of the contrary, upon various occasions, if it were either needful, or proper; but That would be paying too much Deference to your *Invective*, and too poor a Compliment to the *Gentleman's* Character.

A *just Oeconomy* in the Management of his private Fortune is surely no ways blameable. It is, on the contrary, an amiable virtue at all Times, peculiarly so at present, when *Luxury, Extravagance* and *Profusion* are almost grown epidemical Vices. In such an Age, *Oeconomy* is not only laudable, but even necessary to keep a Man independent of the Smiles or Frowns of a *Court*, which have too much Influence on publick Affairs. It is not in the least improbable, Sir, that This may be the Motive of all your late Resentment against *this Gentleman's Oeconomy and prudent Management*. Such Virtues cannot be agreeable to your Schemes; and a Man who seems to have a Design of *beggaring the Nation*, ought not to wish to see many Gentlemen in Opposition to Him, (though it is, at present, your unhappy Case) of plentiful Fortunes, and who live within their Income.

Every Gentleman hath certainly a Power over his *own Property*, and may dispose of it as He pleases; but amongst all *this Gentleman's sparing and scraping* (according to your candid Representation) did He ever *scrape* any unjust Gains out of the *Publick*?—Can you charge Him with one single Instance of *Corruption* in either of those Employments, through which He hath pass'd?—*Prove That*; for what you have hitherto said is nothing to the Purpose.—I need not put *You* in Mind of the Difference of your Behaviour in the *same Office*, which *this Gentleman* afterwards possessed. The *Journals of the House of Commons* save me that trouble; and, perhaps, *this Gentleman's* Presumption in deviating from so great an Example may have never been forgiven.

But who can forbear laughing to hear thy *frank liberal Heart* applauded?—What Instances hast Thou ever given; what Tokens hast Thou discover'd of it?—Do'st Thou call the Profusion of the publick Treasure on a worthless Crew of *Pimps Spies, Projectors, and abandoned Scribblers*, for thy *own secret Service*, Instances of *personal Generosity*?—Are These Marks of *real and disinterested Magnificence*?—At this Rate, *Catiline* was a Man of a *frank, liberal Heart*; for He had just such another Set of *profligate Wretches* about Him, and rewarded Them,

Them, in the same Manner, with the Plunder of of the Publick.

In the next Paragraph, you give us the *Rent-Roll* of *this Gentleman's* Estate, and an Account how He came by it — You say *that the Gentleman possesses an enormous Estate of above nine thousand Pounds per annum; ALL acquired only by a Secretary of the Treasury.* “ The *Minister's* Estate, far from being exorbitant, was acquired in so high a Station as at the *Head of that Treasury*, where the *Gentleman's* little Possessions were pick'd up by the *Secretary*; and which Possessions He, *this Gentleman*, obtained the *Fee-simple* of by the Favour, Indulgence and Assistance of *that Minister*, whom He hath sworn to destroy.”

What a Number of impudent silly Falshoods does this single Paragraph contain? — I am very sensible that it can be of little Use, or Entertainment to the Publick, to give them a Detail of a *Gentleman's private Estate*; but you, Sir, have made it necessary for his Defence. You have brought a sort of a *Writ of Enquiry* against Him, and obliged Him to set forth not only the Particulars of it and his Title to it, but even an Account how it was originally acquired — But We must submit to the Task you have been pleased to impose upon us.

In the *first Place*, you are very particular in your Account of *this Gentleman's* Estate. One would imagine that you had made it your Business to enquire minutely into his Circumstances. If you have given your self this Trouble, you must have had the Mortification to discover that He is able to support Himself in the Resolution, if he hath really taken any, not to burthen Himself with the Load of any other Employment; but whether his Estate is more or less than is here represented, I dare answer for *this Gentleman*, that he is contented with it, whatever it may be; that he is very little solicitous about the Increase of it, and is determin'd not to be so unjust to his Posterity as to diminish it.

Well; but this Estate of *nine thousand Pounds per Annum* was acquired, you say, by a *Secretary of the Treasury*. Why, the *Secretaryship of the Treasury* is most certainly, Sir, a very good Employment; and

and for that Reason you have been extremely in the Right always to have either a *Brother* or a *Son* in it; but really, Sir, the *Secretary* you mention did not get *nine Thousand Pounds a Year* there; and yet, I think, He enjoyed that Employment, either solely or in Part, for *three successive Reigns*; after which he did not leave, at his Death, *forty Thousand Pounds* in Money (great Part of which he rais'd by Sale of his paternal Estate) and not above five Hundred Pounds a Year in Land, which came to him by Inheritance; Part of which is now a Lease from the *City*, and Part a Lease from a *Bishop*. — Here then We have plainly detected one Falshood.

You say farther, " That the Fee-simple of this " *nine Thousand Pounds per Annum* was obtained " of the Crown, on very easy Terms, by the Favour, Indulgence and Assistance of *that Minister*, " whom he hath sworn to destroy."

Would not the World be induced to believe, from this Assertion, (if any Body hath made it, except your self) that the *Gentleman's* whole Estate was a *Leasehold* from the Crown, and that You, in your great Goodness, have converted it into *Freehold*? — But let us see how this East will come out.

The Reader will perceive, from what hath been said, that the whole, which *this Gentleman* inherited from the *Secretary of the Treasury*, was not above *fifty Thousand Pounds*, or thereabouts, all in Money or *Leasehold Land*, from the *Church* and the *City of London*, which now remains such. How therefore could the *Fee-simple* of This be obtained from the *Crown*? — Dear Sir, inform your self better, before you venture to amuse the World again with such *personal Affairs*.

It is true, indeed, that *this Gentleman* hath a very large *Estate*, which hath been in his Family for many Generations. Some Part of this Estate was held by a *Lease from the Crown*; of which there was a Term of *Ninety nine Years* to come after a Term, that was then in Being. His *Grandfather* left Part of his *Leasehold Estate* in *Trustees*, to be sold for the Purchase of other Lands of Inheritance. Upon this Occasion, He apply'd to the Crown to buy off the Inheritance, not as a Favour, but as a fair Purchaser, and was at the Expence of an *Act of Parlia-*

ment to obtain it. He paid more than Sir Isaac Newton, or any other Calculator, computes the Value of such a Purchase to be; for it cost Him altogether, with Charges, a Year's Purchase to make it Inheritance; and I believe no-body will pretend to argue that an Inheritance, after a Term of above an hundred Years to come, is worth one Year's Purchase; nor would this Gentleman have given one single Shilling for it, if it had not been to get his Estate out of Trustees Hands.

This is the Fact; and what was the Value of the Estate thus purchased? Not above twelve or thirteen hundred Pounds a Year; which is but a small Part of this Gentleman's Estate, even according to your own Calculation, most of which was Land of Inheritance before. How different, Sir, is this Story from what is related by you? What could possibly induce you to state it this Manner; or how could you entertain any Hopes of imposing so many Falshoods on the World? — It is very probable, indeed, that you might look upon it as a dirty Job, and therefore concluded that no-body, except your self, could have carry'd it through the House; but it was no more than an honest Purchase of the Inheritance of a small Part of this Gentleman's Estate; and the Fairness of the Bargain prevented all Opposition to the Progress of the Bill; whereas you represent this Affair, as if it was a Grant from the Crown; that the King was deceived in it, and the Parliament was deceived in it, and that you helped to deceive both. — This would really have been a Favour, if the Gentleman had had any Occasion for such dirty Service; but He always scorn'd to employ you, or any Man, in it; though it is very plain that you would have made no Scruple to be employed.

You see, by this Account, that the Gentleman inherited the greatest Part of his Estate from his Father; that much the most considerable share of that Estate was Inheritance before, and had been long in his Family; that He had above an hundred Years to come in the other Part, which He purchased dear enough by an Act of Parliament; and that what was left Him by the Secretary of the Treasury did not amount, in the whole, to fifty thousand Pounds, and was

but perhaps, you might think the Similitude of your Characters and Circumstances made it impolitic to let him suffer the Punishment, which he deserved.

You seem, Sir, to be terribly afraid of *this Gentleman*; and the *Vow of Destruction*, which he is represented once to have made, seems to run strangely in your Head, notwithstanding all that hath been said to cure you of these dreadful Apprehensions. You call it *horrid Imprecation*, and your *Dunciad Advocates* have represented it, a thousand Times over, as the most *bloody-minded Vow*, that ever was made, becoming a *Polish Diet*, rather than an *English Parliament*. Now in this, Sir, I am obliged to differ from you, and think it perfectly agreeable to the Nature of an *English Parliament* (I mean an honest, uncorrupt one) to scrutinize into the Actions of *Ministers*, and even to destroy them, if they should appear to be either wicked or weak—I am pretty confident, Sir, that if an Accusation should be lodged against you, on either of *these Heads*, your *Ministry* would soon be destroyed, and this *terrible Vow* made good; which was, I believe, all that was meant by it—If therefore you are unreasonably frighten'd who can help your Pusillanimity? But prithee ben't too much cast down—It may look like Remorse of Conscience and be thought to proceed from an inward Conviction of Guilt—I doubt *Fear* is a principal Ingredient in your Constitution—Come, own the Truth for once. How often have you seen *this Gentleman* in your Dreams with *Axes* and *Halters*? How often have you started up in a Fright and called upon his Name?—It was this self-same Timidity, which once made you expose your self to him in a very ridiculous Manner——You may remember, Sir, that you came to him at Midnight, and though he had neither spoken to you, nor taken the least Notice of you for two Years before, that you surprized the Family, and desired to speak instantly with him. When he came to you, *Fear* had so possessed you, that you could scarce give the most simple Story, that ever was told, Utterance. With a pale Countenance, and a trembling Voice you told him, “That a Man had writ you a Letter, discovering a
“most horrid Plot against you, and that your House
“was to be pulled down and plundered that very
“Night.”

"Night."—— Your Neighbour looked with Disdain upon you, and, with a Smile, asked you, whether *you*, who had been a *Minister* so long could still be afraid of a *Penny Post Letter*? This put you somewhat out of Countenance, however uncommon it may be; but recovering your self a little, you reply'd that this was more than a common *Penny-Post Letter*; for the Man, who had overheard the Conspiracy, had sign'd his Name; that he then lay wounded at the *George Tavern*, and Mr. *Jenkins*, your trusty Servant, had seen him—— When you had related the whole Story, the *Gentleman* laugh'd at you extreamly; advised you to go home and sleep quietly, if you could, and he would warrant you that Night from any Harm—— The next Morning you seem'd very much concerned at your own Indiscretion, and spared no Pains to suppress the Story; but you had most ridiculously expos'd your self to your Neighbour, who had Reason enough before to have the utmost Contempt of you—— Good Sir, how much might this foolish Piece of Intelligence have cost you? and what did your *frank liberal Heart* bestow upon this Occasion? I am apt to think that Generosity is far from being the strongest Principle residing in it.

I don't know how it comes to pass; but this Gentleman hath been set forth as a strange *Power of Vows*. Sometimes he is represented vowing that he will compel you to give him a *great Employment*, because he laid down one, and compelled you to take another away. In the very next Page, he is drawn making a Solemn Vow never to accept of a Place of Trust or a Share in the *Ministry*, as long as he lives; because the Gentleman, who made him a Compliment in the *Craftsman*, delivered his Opinion that it would be hardly possible to persuade him to it. But as the *Vow of Destruction* seems to give some Uneasiness, I will endeavour to explain it, by acquainting the publick with a Particular, which I am sure will be as agreeable to them, as it may be disagreeable to you.

The Distress, in which you have involved your self, hath oblig'd you to tamper with several Gentlemen in the Opposition, and to put your own vile

Glosses

Glosses on these Negotiations, when you have fail'd in them. This hath induced them to consult one another upon this Head. I believe the Acquisitions, which you have lately made amongst them, will give you no additional Strength, or Credit, and it will be in vain for you to make any farther Attempts; for know, Sir, that they are come to a determin'd Resolution, and it is a Measure taken amongst them, not to listen to any *Treaty* of this Kind whatsoever or from whomsoever it may come, in which the first and principal Condition shall not be to deliver you up to the Justice of your Country.

You will probably call this a wicked Combination, and Association against you. No Sir; it is an honest Resolution to vindicate the Honour and assert the Laws of our Country. Your Crimes have made it necessary to enter into this Agreement, that all the World may see, and be convinc'd, on what Foot the Opposition is form'd; that it is against *You*, and *You only*, as a wicked *Minister*; and that the same Things may not be expected from Them, if any of Them should ever come into Employment, which your Conduct hath rendered almost Maxims of Policy. An Alteration of *Ministers* would be of little Service to the Publick. An Alteration of *Measures* is the Thing expected and required; and nothing can secure us so effectually against the *same Malversations* for the future, as the exemplary Punishment of *You*, who have brought such irreparable Mischiefs on your Country.

Don't flatter your self, Sir, that this is a rash, unadvis'd Measure, taken on a sudden, in a Fit of *personal Resentment*. No, it proceeds from nobler Motives, and is the Result of Hearts warm with a Zeal for the publick Service. It is taken with a Design to prevent all clandestine Negotiations, or secret Bargains, which may be attempted by your self, or any other Person whatever, for your Retreat and Security.—Consider now the desperate Situation, into which you have brought your self. The *Gentlemen*, who openly oppose you, are determined to put you upon your Trial for all the fatal Blunders, and Iniquities of a long Administration. Those, who are obliged unwillingly to support you, wait with
Im-

Impatience for an Opportunity of giving you up, which they have already discovered an Eagerness of doing, as soon as they shall see that Protection withdrawn, which you receive at present from the Influence of Power and Corruption.

You say, Sir, " That the Gentleman, whom I defend, laid down his Employment in the *War Office* for the Sake of this very *Minister* (meaning your self) whom he then supposed would soon, from publick Necessity, come into Power again, and be able to give him a better Place."

If this is true, where is your Gratitude to *this Gentleman*, who laid down so considerable an Employment for your Sake? and may it not be said that the Weight of his great Estate, to say no more, gave some Strength to your Opposition, and contributed to your present Elevation? But we are willing to absolve you from this Obligation; for he no more laid down his Employment for your Sake, than you raised him. He laid it down, because he could not concur with the Measures then carrying on, as he lost another Employment since, because he could not concur with *your Measures*—— But pray, Sir, how came you to blab out that foolish Confession, that you design'd to push your self into the Administration again by *publick Necessity*, or the *Exigence of State*? God knows you made your Words too good. The publick Calamity of the *Southsea Scheme* opened a Door to your Advancement. You seized the Opportunity with eager Atms, and *Fortune* improved it for you, by the Death of several great *Men*, who dropt off, at that Time, one after another, just as your own Heart could wish—— I must, in this Place, put you in Mind of one Circumstance of that Conjuncture, (happy for you, but fatal to *your Country*!) which ought never to be forgot; I mean, the infamous BANK-CONTRACT, drawn up by your own Hand, and cancell'd by your *own vile Arts*, to the Ruin of Thousands; a Circumstance, so void of all Honesty, that even none of your most *abandoned Mercenaries* have attempted to defend it, amongst all their various Apologies for your Blunders and Vindications of your Iniquities.

I must

I must now do another Thing very disagreeable to the *Gentleman* I am vindicating, but absolutely necessary under this Attack; that is, open a Scene of private Conversation. I am sorry you should drive us to this Extremity; but your own Doctrine must be our Excuse; that *neither Decency nor Modesty* (nor even the Fear of giving Offence to any Person whatsoever) *forbids the just Defence of a Character under Accusation.*

You say, "That this *Gentleman* expected and insisted on having a great *Employment*; that being disappointed in this Expectation, his *Patriotism* took its Rise from hence; and, in another Place you say, that he resolved to compel you to make him SECRETARY OF STATE."

This is a direct Falshood—If the *Gentleman* expected and insisted on having the *Seals*, he must have declared his Expectations to somebody, and have peremptorily insisted on it somewhere, or other. If he was refus'd (as you alledge) he must have been refused by somebody. Now, you are desy'd to name any one Person, to whom he ever mention'd this Matter. I have heard him positively declare, upon his Honour, that he never once spoke to the late King, to the present King, or to any Minister whatsoever on this Affair. He positively declares farther, that no Minister ever spoke to him of it, but your self, and then in a very cursory Manner. It seems, you came up to him, one Day, in the House of Commons, and told him, that when either of the Secretaries were removed, the Ministers had their Eyes upon him for that Employment. To this he made you no Answer whatever; but bow'd and smil'd, to let you know he understood your Meaning; for this happened just at the Time, when Application was to be made to Parliament for Payment of the Debts of the Civil List, which you was apprehensive this *Gentleman* would oppose; and it may be reasonably presumed that you gave him this gracious Hint with a Design to soften him in that Particular. You might suppose that such a Temptation could not fail of Prevalency in this Age; but you found your self mistaken. Here is a manifest Proof that the *Gentleman* had no Ambition to be Secretary of State; for he

H

would

would not comply with the Condition, on which you seemed to offer it. He stuck to his Point, in opposing the *civil List Debt*, and for that Cause, and That alone, was turn'd out of his Employment of *Cofferer*.

There is one Circumstance in this Affair, which hath never yet been explain'd to the World ; and upon which the Enemies of *this Gentleman* have triumphed extremely ; as if he was naturally of an unsteady Temper ; or that they had at length found out Means to gain him over ; for after the Oopposition he had given to this Affair in every Step of it, he voted in the last Instance, for the Question. The Truth of that Affair is this. The *late King* had of himself, or as He was advised by his *Ministers*, frequently try'd the *Gentleman* on this Point, and hoped to perswade him to be for it. He used all the Arguments he could ; urged to him all the Motives he thought could possibly engage him ; but all to no Purpose. He continued inflexible. At length, the *King* said to him, " It is hard you will not let me be an honest Man. " What would you, *continued his Majesty*, think your self of one, who refused to pay his Butcher, his Baker, and other honest Tradesmen ? " — To this the *Gentleman* reply'd, not a little affected with his Majesty's last Argument, God forbid that he should prevent his Majesty from acting such an honest Part. It was not his Intention. What he meant to do was consistent with his Duty as a Servant to his Majesty, and agreeable with his Duty as a Representative of the People. He meant only to expose that unnecessary Profusion, which had been made of *Secret-service Money, Pensions, &c.* that the Money, which should have paid his honest Tradesmen, was by these means diverted. His View therefore was to get a Censure of such Practices, and to prevent their becoming Precedents ; nor had he any Design of depriving the *honest Creditors* of their just Debts ; and this was the Reason, when it came to the last Instance, why *this Gentleman* voted for the Question, which his Majesty understood very well to be agreeable to the Promise he had made, however mysterious it might appear to others, and which the *Gentleman* was fully perswaded to be just in itself, and

and consistent with his Duty, as a *Servant to the Crown*.

Since we are now upon the Head of *secret History* which you have open'd, I must explain another Point, in this Gentleman's Defence, concerning the Reconciliation between his *present M——y* and the *late K——*; from whence it will appear whether *you*, or *this Gentleman*, was most greedy of Employments, and who discover'd the truest Zeal for the Honour of his *present M——y*. I shall only promise, that in all Points of a *secret Nature*, where no other Proof can be had but the Honour of the Persons asserting on the one Side and on the other, the World hath nothing else to decide upon but their *Characters*, and I think it pretty clear between you two, who will be the soonest believed.

This then, I am told, he avers upon his *Honour*, that you sent to him one Day, as he was going out of Town, desiring to speak with him; that when he came you told him of the Reconciliation between the *late K——* and the then *P—— of W——*, and that a Bargain was made for those *Whigs* who had resigned their Employments to be put in again by Degrees. To this the *Gentleman* reply'd; "Who pray
" *is it*, that hath the Authority to make this Bargain?
" *Your Answer was*, I have done it with the *Ministry*,
" and it was insisted on that nobody but Lord *Town-*
" *shend* should know of the Transaction. Neither
" Lord *Cowper*, the *Speaker*, nor any one else knew
" it, and therefore we hope you will not take it
" amiss, that it was kept Secret from you——
" Not I, *said the Gentleman*; but I think it very odd
" that any one should presume to take a plenary
" Authority upon himself to deal for such Num-
" bers as were concerned in an Affair of this Con-
" sequence——We have not, *said you again*, had our
" own Interests alone in View. We have bargain-
" ed for all our Friends; and in due Time they will
" be provided for. I am to be, *said you*, at the Head
" of the Treasury. Lord *Sunderland* had a great
" Desire to retain the Disposition of the *Secret-*
" *Service-Money* to himself; but I would by no
" means consent to that; knowing that the chief
" Power of a Minister (and I presume his Profit on-

" 19) depends on the Disposition of it." You named
 several others, who were to come into Employments;
 and said to this *Gentleman*, " We know, Sir, that
 " you do not value any thing of that Kind; so we
 " have obtained a *Peerage* for you." — It seems
 you did not, at that Time, pretend that the *Gentle-*
man either expected, or insisted on any Employment;
 and therefore told him that the King had consented
 to make him a *Peer*. To this the *Gentleman* reply'd
 with some warmth; " Sir, if ever I should be mean
 " enough to submit to being sold, I promise you
 " that you shall never have the selling of Me. A
 " *Peerage* is what, some Time or other, I may be
 " glad of accepting, for the Sake of my Family; but
 " I will never obtain it by any base Method, or sub-
 " mit to have it got for me upon such Terms by you.
 " But pray, Sir, (*continued the Gentleman*) since you
 " have acquainted me with the Terms you have made
 " for Me; what are those you have made for the P—,
 " who hath acted so honourable and steady a Part to
 " those, with whom he engaged, and who are now
 " in Opposition to the Court? — To this you an-
 " swered, with a *Sneer*, why he is to go to Court
 " again, and He will have his *Drums* and his *Guards*,
 " and such *Fine Things*." — At this the *Gentle-*
man was astonished, and thought proper to press you
 a little farther, by asking you, " Whether the P—
 " was to be left Regent again, as he had been, when
 " the King went out of England. — No, said you,
 " why should he? — What! reply'd the *Gentle-*
man, have you stipulated for a Share of Royalty
 " for yourself, on the King's Departure, and is the
 " P— to live like a private Subject, of no
 " Consequence in the Kingdom? — The *Gentle-*
man avers, upon his Honour, that your Answer
 was this. " He does not deserve it. We have
 " done too much for him; and if it was to be done
 " again, We would not do so much." — Upon
 this the *Gentleman* went directly to the P—
 (with whom he then had some Credit) and humbly
 represented upon what Terms the Reconciliation
 was founded. He told him that he was sold to his
 Father's Ministers by Persons, who considered no-
 thing but themselves and their own Interest, and
 were

were in haste to make their Fortunes. This was thought by him to have had some Weight, at that Time, with the P——, though the Gentleman did not think it proper to tell him the whole that had pass'd, and relate what you had said of him in so ungrateful a Manner.

This is the Man (behold him well!) who reproaches others with want of Duty to the King and Decency to the Royal Family; this base Wretch, who is now deceiving and flattering that very Person, whom he us'd so ill, to serve his own selfish Ends; for I believe I may affirm that, besides the View of obtaining other Employments, the Promise of a *Noli Prosequi* upon a Grant of a Place in the *Custom-House*, which was apprehended to be illegal, was one of the chief Motives to *this Reconciliation*.

You charged this Gentleman farther with following the Court again, when the *late King* dyed, and worshipping the *RISING SUN*—— Every Body, Sir, followed the *Rising Sun*, at that Time, as well as this Gentleman, and would have been extremely pleas'd to see him shine in *Meridian Glory*. Men, of all Parties, made a Tender of their Affections and Services on that Occasion; which had no good Aspect, indeed, upon your Affairs, and therefore you have spared no Pains to divide them again. But you would insinuate by this, that he was making his Court to get an Employment; the contrary of which is so true, that *this great Person* himself well knows that, at the first Audience the Gentleman had of him, he assured him that he did not come to ask for any Employment, nor should ever trouble him upon that Score; and believed his Majesty had met with but few, who gave him the like Instances of Zeal and Affection.

I shall not pretend to justify the Increase of the *civil List* at that Time. Such Instances of Complaisance to the Crown are too common at the Beginning of a Reign; but as this Gentleman had no share in projecting it, so his opposing it would have had no other Effect than giving you an Opportunity of charging him with want of *Duty* and *Affection* to his Majesty, as soon as the Crown devolved to him.

I do not think my self or *this Gentleman*, oblig'd to justify the *Craftsman*. He writes a weekly Paper, in which no doubt many Hands are concerned. *You, Sir*, are much more answerable for all the atheistical Stuff, and vile political Maxims, advanced in the *London Journal*, which every Body knows to be propagated, by your Authority, at the publick Expence. Neither can I see how the *Craftsman* hath vindicated the Measures, or Ministers of the last four Years of Queen *Anne*, by publishing a Letter (which was manifestly sent him) in Confusion of some Facts, falsely charg'd upon *two Gentlemen*, who have long been most infamously abused on his Account; but since you have thought fit to mention the late Earl of *Oxford*, I am ready to agree with you that his Character had many good Qualities in it, which you want. He was certainly an *able Minister*; and notwithstanding the Violence of those Times, Experience proves him to have been an *honest Treasurer*. *He went out of that Office not only with clean, but almost empty Hands.*

It always seems to give you great Uneasiness that *this Gentleman* is happy in the Applauses of his Country. Why really, *Sir*, the Publick are pleas'd to entertain a pretty good Opinion of him; but I never heard him charged with stooping to any unworthy Methods of courting their Applauses; and, perhaps, that Degree of *Popularity*, which he does enjoy amongst his Countrymen, may proceed in some Measure from his constant Opposition to *You*, who are justly grown so very *unpopular* amongst them. In answer to this, you quote an Observation of the *Craftsman*, "That many Persons in all Ages, have enjoyed the highest Degree of popular Favour for some time, who least deserve it." This is certainly true in general; and therefore we must leave this Question (*who deserves the popular Favour most; you or this Gentleman*) to be determined by your Actions and the Judgment of the Publick.

You tell us, by Way of Conclusion, *that you scorn to enter into private Life, secret History, or private Correspondencies; and that you abhor to copy from their ever-memorable Proper Reply.*

Could any one imagine to find this Sentence at the Conclusion of a *scurrilous Pamphlet*, filled with nothing

thing but most infamous Falshoods and vile Misrepresentations, *Family Affairs*, *personal Secrets* and *private Correspondencies*? Have you not entered into the minutest Parts of *this Gentleman's domestick Affairs*? Have you not pretended to give an Account of his *Family Estate*; how he came by it, and in what Manner it was acquired? Have you not reproached him with his *sparing, scraping Nature*; his *vindictive Temper*; his *Spight* and *Ambition*; and after all this, is it not monstrously ridiculous to say that you *scorn to enter into Family Affairs, personal Secrets, or private Correspondencies*? ——— Would not any Body be inclin'd to think you either a *Fool* or a *Madman*? But you thought, perhaps, that this might guard you against the like Usage, by alledging that you scorn to enter into *Family Affairs*. Poor, weak Man! You are safe, not from this Artifice, but from the Honour of your Antagonist. If you have any *Family Misfortunes*, they are by your worst Enemies lamented, not objected against you. ——— Far be it from me to revile you on this Account. ——— But since you mention the *ever-memorable Proper Reply*, let us see how that *Affair* stands, and whether the *Gentleman*, whom I defend, is really blameable on that Account.

An *infamous Pamphlet*, much like that before us, came out; which the *true Author* was both ashamed and afraid to own; though all Mankind seems now to be convinc'd that it was yours. In *this Libel* great Pains were taken to make two of the worst Characters, that ever were drawn, applicable to *two Gentlemen*, who happen not to be in your good Graces. When it was publish'd, the whole World expressed their Indignation against it; and *You*, to conceal your self, encouraged a Report about Town that it was written by a certain noble Lord, which almost every Body believed. A *Reply* came out, which had it contained less Spirit, would not have deserv'd the Title of a *Proper Reply*; and two Characters were drawn in it, of your self and your Brother, which struck every Body with the Likeness. The Consequence of this was that the *Person*, who was answered, as the suppos'd *Author*, was much offended, and apprehended himself to be much wrong'd. What Mischief might have ensued would have lain

entirely at your Door, who gave Occasion to have another Gentleman supposed the Author of it, and rejoiced in the Consequences of an Affair, which you had been hatching.

You wind up the whole, according to your Custom, with a most nauseous Strain of Adulation to the Throne, at the Expence of another Gentleman, who is very well able to justify himself; and therefore I leave that Part to him, or to some of his Friends.

As to his Majesty, though I shall always scorn to bedaub the Royal Character with such mean Flattery, as glares through your Performances; yet I shall never be wanting in my Declaration of Zeal for the Happiness of his Government, and the Prosperity of his Family. May the British Crown never depart from them; and to secure it on their Heads, may Liberty always flourish under their Influence and Protection! May his present Majesty's Reign be long and glorious; even much more glorious than it hath hitherto been! And to give the fullest Testimony of my Zeal, and the Sincerity of my Intentions, may he be delivered in good Time, from your Administration!



*A Final ANSWER to the REMARKS
on the CRAFTSMAN'S Vindication;
and to all the LIBELS, which have
come, or may come from the same
Quarter against the PERSON, last
mentioned in the CRAFTSMAN of
the 22d of May.*

IT is impossible to have read the Papers which have been publish'd against the Writings of the *Craftsman*, and not have observed that one principal Point hath been laboured with constant Application, and sometimes with a little Art. The Point I mean hath been this; to make all the Disputes about national Affairs, and our most important Interests, to pass for nothing more than *Cavils*, which have been raised by the Pique and Resentment of *one Man*, and by the Iniquity and dangerous Designs of *another*. Nothing, which could be said or done to inculcate this Belief, hath been neglected. The same Charges have been repeated almost every Week, and the Publick hath been modestly desired to pay no Regard to undeniable Facts, to unanswer'd and unanswerable Arguments, because these Facts and these Arguments were supposed, by the *Ministerial Writers*, to come from Men, to whom *these Hirelings* ascribed, against all Probability, the worst Motives, and whose Characters they endeavour to blacken without Proof. Surely this Proceeding render'd it necessary, at least not improper, at the Conclusion of those Remarks, which were to conclude the Collection of the *Craftsman*, to say something concerning the *Persons* who had been so particularly attacked on Account of the Part, which they, who rail'd at them, were pleased to suppose that *these Gentlemen* had in the Writings contain'd in that Collection. This, I say,

I say, was necessary ; at least proper ; not in order to *raise a Spirit*, as it is impertinently suggested in the *Libel*, which lies before me ; but to refute *Calumny*, and to remove at least some of those Prejudices which had been raised or renewed on the Occasion of *these Writings*, and which were employed to weaken the Effect of them ; an Effect, which may be said with Truth to have been aim'd at the * *noble Pair of Brothers*, since it keeps up a national Spirit of Enquiry and Watchfulness, which it is the Interest of *these Persons*, as it hath been their Endeavour to stifle ; and which it is the Interest of every *other Man in Britain* to preserve in himself, and to nourish in others ; an Effect, which cannot be said, without the greatest Untruth, to have been aimed against the *present Settlement* ; since the highest Insolence which can be offered to his Majesty, is to attempt to blend his Interest and his Cause, with those of his *unworthy Servants*, as the Tools of these *unworthy Servants* are every Day employ'd to do, and probably at his Majesty's Expence.

Something was said therefore by the *Craftsman*, in his Journal of the 22d of *May*, to the Purpose I have mentioned. If he went out of his Way, (for he ought most certainly to confine himself to *Things*, and meddle with *Persons* as little as possible) he went out of it on great Provocation. He carry'd Truth and Reason along with him ; and he used a Moderation and a Decency, to which his *Adversaries* are Strangers.

To set this Matter in a full light, let us consider what he said ; let us consider how he hath been answered ; and, by fairly comparing both, let us put the whole Merits of this Cause upon one short but decisive Issue. It will be Time afterwards to make a few Observations on the Clamour rais'd ; on the Reasons and Design of it ; in a Word, to detect the mean Artifice and silly Expedients to which the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker* are reduced. In doing this, I shall neither affect to declaim, nor to inveigh, though I have before me an inexhaustible Fund of Matter for both, and the Law of Retaliation to bear me out. As I am persuaded

* *Par nobile Fratrum*. See the Motto prefix'd to the Remarks.

the Men I have to do with, can raise no Passion in the Person concerned, so have I no need of endeavouring to raise the Passions of others.——But to proceed.

The *Craftsman* took notice of those Accusations, which are brought against the Gentleman he mentions in the *second Place*.——I meddle not with the Defence of the *other*, which hath been undertaken by an abler Pen.——Some of these he answered in general only; and yet he answered them as particularly as he ought to have done for Reasons of Honour, which are touch'd upon by him, and which shall be a little more open'd by me.

But there were other Points, not at all affected by these Reasons, on which no Explanation was necessary to be given by the *Accused*, and on which the *Craftsman* had a Right to demand Proof from the *Accusers*. They were Points of a more determined Nature; such as admitted of no different Constructions; such as could not be altered by Circumstances. They were of a more publick Nature; such as the Men, who brought the Accusations, must have it in their Power to prove, if they were true; and such therefore as must be false, if the Men who brought the Accusations, were not able and ready to prove them.

On these the *Craftsman* insisted. He affirmed Propositions directly contrary to the Accusations brought. He appealed to unquestionable Authority for the Truth of what he affirmed; and to *one* in particular, which should have been treated with more Respect by the *Remarker*, since it will outweigh, at Home and Abroad, a Thousand such Authorities as those of *his Patrons*. He challenged all Mankind to produce one single Proof in Contradiction of any one of these general Affirmations.

Was there any thing unfair or undecent in this Proceeding? was there any thing in it, which could provoke the Choler of those who are Friends to Truth and Justice? If they who brought these Accusations, had been such, an Opportunity was presented to them of convicting the guilty Man at the very Tribunal, before which his Cause had been pleaded. By producing Proof on these Heads, they had it in their Power to condemn him upon all the rest; and if this Part of the Charge was made good,
the

the Opinion of Mankind would have been fairly enough decided as to the *other*.

Issue being join'd therefore in this Manner, the *accused Person* must be found guilty of all the Crimes laid to his Charge; or his *Accusers* must be found guilty of Slander, of Calumny, and of the worst sort of Assassination.

Thus the *Craftsman* left the Matter——let us see what hath been said in answer to him.

I pass over the many scurrilous Productions of those *weekly, Ministerial Scolds*, who are hired to call Names, and are capable of little more. The elaborate Libel, entitled, *Remarks on the Craftsman's Vindication*, seems to be the utmost Effort of *their* and *their Patron's* collected Strength; and tho' I have waited several Days, to see if they had any more Scandal to throw out; yet I never doubted an Instant from what Quarter this remarkable Piece came into the World.

The whole Pamphlet is one continued Invektive, and deserves no more to be called *Remarks on the Craftsman*, or an *Answer to him*, than the Railing and Raving, and throwing of Filth by a *Mad man* deserve to be call'd an *Answer* to those who unwarily pass too near his Cell. All that *Malice* could ever invent, or the Credulity of *Parties*, inflamed by Opposition, receive, is assembled. Truth is disguised by Misrepresentation, and even many Things, which the *noble Pair* know to be false, are affirmed as true.

But you will ask, perhaps, whether the Challenge is not accepted, and whether Proofs are not brought to contradict the plain and positive Affirmation made by the *Craftsman*? I answer, the Challenge is accepted, and the *Remarker* assures us that he hath brought Proof in *numerous Instances* against these Affirmations; which is the more generous, because the *Craftsman* exacted but one single Proof in Contradiction of any one of them.

The first of these Affirmations was, that the Gentleman concerned never entered into *Engagements*, or any Commerce with the Pretender, till he had been attainted and cut off from the Body of his Majesty's Subjects——Let us examine the Facts, which we find

find scatter'd up and down in the *Remarks*, and which may be apply'd to prove, in Opposition to this Affirmation, what hath been so often asserted, that *this Gentleman was a zealous Jacobite, and an Agent of the Pretender*, even in the Reign of the late *Queen*. The first Fact of this Kind is this. *He left the Kingdom. His high Treason, among other Crimes, was confessed by his shameful Flight.*

Had the *Libeller* proved this *high Treason*, I might agree that the Gentleman's leaving his Country was a Consequence; but I can never admit that it is a Proof of his Guilt. Could no other Reason for leaving his Country be given, except his Guilt, his leaving his Country would be a strong Presumption against him. But many other Reasons will soon occur to those, who remember the Passages of that Time; and Reasons there are of a more private Nature still, which would be very far, to say no more, from reflecting Dishonour on a Step, which is called, by *these foul-mouth'd Advocates of Power*, *shameful and ignominious*. One Thing it may be proper to assure them of, that they may not pretend to mistake the *Craftsman*, and to misapply his Words no more. It is this. The *Gentleman* never declined a Contest with the *two honourable Patrons of this Libel*. One of them was, in those Days, below his Notice; and he never found, upon Trial, that he had Reason to apprehend being foiled by the other. But we must not yet dismiss this Article.

If the Proof we are examining proved any thing, it would prove too much. If to decline, in certain Circumstances, a Trial; if to go into voluntary Exile, either before a Trial, or even after Condemnation, were absolute Proof of Guilt, the conduct of many greater and better Men than the *Person now accused* would deserve our Censure, and that of Calumniators, as vile as *these Libellers*, would merit our Approbation. *Metellus* and *Rutilius* must be condemned. *Apuleius* and *Apicius* must be justified.

This sort of Proof therefore not appearing sufficient to make good the Charge, that *this Gentleman* was engaged with the *Pretender* before his *Attainder*, great Pains are taken, and much Rhetorick is employed to shew what we shall not presume to

con-

contradict, that he ought not to have engaged in that Cause after his *Attainder*. Neither did the *Craftsman* insist on this Circumstance as a Defence of the *Person accused*. He fixed this Date of the Engagement mentioned, in Contradiction to those who had falsely affirmed that these Engagements were much more ancient. But he neither urged it as a *Defence*, nor pleaded it as an *Excuse*; and yet I am persuaded that this very Circumstance had some Weight with his *late Majesty*, when that excellent Prince, the Mildness of whose Temper, and the Clemency of whose Nature, would have render'd him amiable in the most private Station, and made him almost adorable in that great Elevation, to which the Providence of God had raised him; when that excellent Prince, I say, was pleased on his own Motion, and without any Application from the *Person* here-spoken of, to extend his present, and promise his future Favour to him.

Tho' the *Craftsman* did neither say, nor intend, what has been objected by the *Remarker* to him, yet he might perhaps mean something more than hath been observed; and if he did mean it, he meant to inculcate, upon the Occasion, a very useful, general Truth. Let us grant that the Man, who engages against his Country, even when he has been oppressed in it, or driven out of it by Violence, is not to be defended; that these are Occasions, wherein we ought to kiss the Rod which scourges us, and reverence that Authority we think has been unjustly exercised against us. But then let it be granted likewise, that *human Passions* are so strong, and *human Reason* so weak, that Men who suffer Persecution, or who imagine they suffer it, are seldom able to keep within these Bounds of *heroical Moderation*. They will be apt to seize Opportunities which may be offered, of resisting, or of attempting to repair the Injuries done them. They will flatter themselves, that they do not *vow their revenge against the People, the innocent and collective Body of their Countrymen*, nor go about to subvert the *Constitution of the Government*. They will persuade others, nay, they will persuade themselves, that they do not seek *Revenge*, but *Redress*; nor aim to destroy the
Law,

Law, which punishes, but to prevent the *Abuse* of it, which persecutes. Thus will Men, who actually suffer, be apt to reason; and if the Case be common to Numbers, they will be apt to proceed from reasoning on such Principles, to act upon them. Wise Governments therefore have been careful to distinguish between *Punishment* and *Persecution*, and have never suffered the former, however just, necessary, or severe, to carry the least Appearance of the latter. *Ludlow* was justly punished. My Lord *Clarendon*, whom the *Remarker* hath so strangely yoked with the *Regicide*, was unjustly, ungratefully and cruelly persecuted. We may pronounce, without Uncharitableness, that the former would have taken any Opportunity of subverting a second Time the Constitution of his Country; not from *Resentment* alone, but from *Principle*. The latter would have been moved by no *Resentments* to disturb the Frame of Government, which he had contributed so much to restore. The former Example therefore hath nothing to do in this Place; and if I admit the latter, it will only serve to shew us how Men should act, not how they do act. It will be one Example of *Virtue*, opposed to innumerable Instances of *Frailty*. Innumerable indeed are the Instances of Men in all Ages, who having been driven out of their Country by Violence, have endeavoured, even by Violence, to return to it. This is the general and known Course of Nature; *depraved* indeed, but *human*; and since it is so; if we allow that they who disturb a Government, because they think themselves persecuted, deserve no Excuse, we must allow that those, who give Occasion to this Disturbance by Persecution, deserve very little.

I hope I may deserve some for this Digression, into which the *Remarker* led me; and I return to my Subject, by saying, that neither the *Craftsman* hath pretended, nor do I here pretend, to excuse the Engagements, which *this Gentleman* took, after his Attainder, and which his *late Majesty* so graciously pardoned! but that his taking these Engagements, after his Attainder, is no Proof that he was under them before; and that his going out of the Kingdom in the late King's Reign, is no Proof that he was a *zealous*

Jaco-

Jacobite, and an Agent of the Pretender in the late Queen's Reign.

The *Libeller*, finding himself unable to make this Charge good, lessens the Charge, that he may suit his Proof to it. If he cannot prove that the *Gentleman* was in the Interests of the *Pretender*, before his Attainder, he will prove at least that he had a strong Propension to those Interests; and how does he prove even this? He asserts that in the Year 1702, this *Gentleman* was one of the *Virtuous* 117, who gave their Votes to throw out the Bill for settling the Protestant Succession, &c. False and impudent Assertion! A few Pages before he pretends to have the *Journal Book of the House of Commons* before him. Had he it before him now? If he had, how could he affirm in direct Contradiction to it? If he had not, how could he venture to affirm any thing concerning this Matter? The Bill for settling the Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family, passed the House of Commons in the Month of May 1701, not in 1702; and it passed *nemine contradicente*. In the Month of January following, Leave was given, *nemine contradicente*, to bring in a Bill for the further Security of his Majesty's Person, and the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, and extinguishing the Hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other Pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors. This Bill was accordingly brought in, and the Persons who, by Order of the House, prepared and brought it in, were Sir Charles Hedges, and one Mr. St. JOHN. In the Progress of this Bill through the House, it appears that there were some Debates and Divisions about particular Clauses and Amendments; but the Bill was pass'd without any Division; so infamously false is the Assertion made by this *Libeller*, that there was no Division of 117, or of any other Number, for throwing out either the Bill which settled the Succession; or the Bill, which was made for the further Security of it. There was a Division, indeed, of 117 against 118, and upon a Clause added by the Lords to a Bill, for enlarging the Time for taking the Oath of Abjuration, &c. and this happened in the Year 1702; but what Relation hath this Fact to the Fact asserted? Whether the *Gentleman* voted against this Clause, or not, I am unable

able to say; and it is to no Purpose to enquire; for the Clause regarded only such Persons as had neglected to take the Abjuration Oath in Time, and provided, that if such Persons had forfeited any Office, Benefice, &c. to which any other Person had been preferred, the former should not be restored by taking the Advantage of this Act. If this pretended Proof therefore is not another Instance of the vilest Calumination, I know not what is; and if this is vile Calumination, the *Libeller* himself confesses, that the *Craftsman's* Challenge was properly made; and that there is not one Proof in the World against his general Affirmations.

Another Fact, which is advanced, and most pathetically declaimed upon, for Reasons not hard to be discovered, is likewise applied to maintain the same Charge. "This Gentleman, says the *Libeller*, had the Impudence to oppose his present most sacred Majesty, when he demanded a Writ of Right—The Writ of Summons to Parliament. He afterwards caused the Elector of *Hanover's* Minister to be forbid the Court, for no other Crime than having demanded that Writ." And did *this Gentleman* oppose this Writ? Nay, did any other Servant of the late Queen oppose it? False and impudent is the Assertion. It was ordered to be made out the very Day * it was demanded. If the *Minister*, who demanded the Writ, was forbid the Court, was *this Gentleman* the Cause of it? Is every disagreeable Circumstance to be ascribed to him in an Affair, which was too important not to be laid, by the proper *Minister*, that is by the *Chancellor*, not the *Secretary*, before her late Majesty and her Council; and in which it may be supposed that her Majesty's Resentments, were alone sufficient to determine such a Resolution? Besides, if the *Minister* received the Affront mentioned, was he singly and abstractedly for demanding the Writ? or was it founded on the manner of demanding, and on many other Circumstances, some expressed and some hinted at in the *Letters*, writ soon afterwards by the late Queen to her

* Vide *Annals of the Reign of Queen Anne.*

late Electoral Highness the Princess Sophia, and to his present Majesty, which I ye before me in the printed *Annals of Queen Anne's Reign*? Was the Reception, given by his late Majesty, then Elector, to the Minister, who made this Demand, at his return home, such a one as shewed his Majesty's Approbation of this Measure, and his Disapprobation of what had happened here upon it?——I say no more.

We have now gone thro' all I can find in this *Libel*, which seems so much as to aim at making good the first Head of Accusation, on which the *Craftsman* made his Challenge.

On the second Head, the *Craftsman* affirmed, " that the same Gentleman never had any Commerce either direct or indirect, inconsistent with the Engagements he took after his Attainder; whilst he continued in them." Now, this Affirmation, instead of being discovered, is evaded. It is foreign to me, says the *Remarker*——Is it so?——Have not all his scribbling Associates charged this Gentleman over and over for being treacherous to the Pretender; for being engaged with him; at the same time a Spy and a Partisan, (such is the Language they use,) of the late King? Is not the flat Contradiction given to this Lye a Part of the Challenge made by the *Craftsman*? Hath not this *Libeller* accepted the Challenge? Hath he not called it a weak, a foolish and a slavish Defence? May he evade it after all his boasting? Is he not bound to make it good in every Part, or to own the Charge of Calumny, which I make on him, on the whole scribbling Crew; and on those, who pay them? What he, or they will own, I neither know nor care. What the Publick will determine is evident.

On a third Head of Accusation against this Gentleman, the *Craftsman* affirmed, " that since he was out of the Engagements last mentioned, he hath had no Commerce, either direct or indirect, in favour of that Cause." Now, upon this Head, tho' the Accusation be not given up in Terms, yet is it as little maintained, or supported by Proof as the last. The *Libeller* indeed calls the Gentleman a *Leviathan of Treason*; displays the terrible Dangers

gers which would have attended the re-instating him; presumes to call it a Libel on the late King's Memory to say that he had such Intentions; and yet dares not deny that his Majesty signified his having such Intentions. In short, with much Bombast, he makes the Panegyrick of his Patron, for defeating these Intentions. I shall not condescend to make one single Remark on this Rhapsody of Scurrility and Adulation. Such Poyson carries its Antidote along with it into the World; and no Man will be at a loss to judge whether publick or private Motives determin'd the Servant, in this Case, to defeat the Intentions of the *Master*. Which ever they were, he, who can believe that the *Gentleman* so often mentioned has upon him any of that Obligation, which the *Craftsman* disclaims for him, deserves to be pitied; and he who can bring himself up to affirm it, deserves to be despised. But before I leave this Article, it may not be improper, nor unseasonable to enquire, by what Criterion good *Subjects to his Majesty*, and *faithful Friends to the present Establishment* are to be distinguished and known. Are all those to be reputed such, who assumed the greatest Zeal for the *Protestant Succession* formerly?— This cannot be; for many of the *Tories* have this Title; and all, whoever wore that Name, are proscribed by the *System* we have seen advanced— Are all these to be reputed such, who were alike zealous for the *Protestant Succession*, and who have besides made constant Profession of the Principles of *Whiggism*?— This cannot be neither; since many such as these are daily stigmatized with the reproachful Names of *Malecontents* and *Incendiaries*; and since Endeavours are used, by false Deductions, and by arbitrary Interpretations, to prove them Enemies to the Government, and in Effect *arrant Traitors*.— What is this Criterion then? I am able to discover but one, and it is this; being for, or being against the noble Pair of Brothers, the two honourable Patrons of the Remarker. Without the Merit of approving their Conduct, no Man is to be reputed a *faithful Subject*, or a Friend to his Country. With this Merit, and with that of a blind Submission, even they, who have been the most obnoxious

may be received, and they, who have been called Enemies to the Government, as loudly as any others, may be inrolled among its Friends. This Practice of endeavouring to confine the Interest of the Government to as narrow a Bottom as that of *two Ministers*, has been of late most audaciously pursued. It has been said in direct Terms * " That if his said late Majesty had put the Administration into any other Hands, he would have been unjust to those brave Men, who had done and suffered so much to serve him ; and that he would not have deserved to wear the Crown, if he had not employed the Men, whom he did employ."—— Here, again, there might be room for some particular Reflections, if I was disposed to make them. But I avoid this invidious Part as much as my Subject will allow me to do ; and shall therefore content my self with desiring these bold Writers, their Inspectors, and Patrons, to consider what the necessary Consequences of such Positions are. If they dare to assert that his *late Majesty* would have been unjust ; that he would not have deserved to wear the Crown, if he had not employed the Men he did employ ; what might they not assert, if his *present Majesty* should, at any Time, think fit, in his great Wisdom and Goodness to his People, to remove some of those very Men, whom his Royal Father did employ ? The Assertion is not even extended to Party. It would have been still indecent if it had. But it is confined to a certain Number of particular Men ; as if the Zeal for the *Protestant Succession* in the present Royal Family had not been directed, as it most certainly was, to the national Advantage, but had been intended, as to be sure it was not, for the Advantage of particular Men, and to perpetuate the Administration in a private Family. This is such Language, as I believe was never held before, and as no Man would presume to hold now, if the Encouragement to it did not proceed from those, by whom it should be discountenanc'd and punished.

There is another Fact, which I must not omit to take Notice of in this Place ; because though it is

* London Journal, May 15.

not one of those, on which the *Craftsman* made his Challenge, yet it hath been positively asserted by him, and half of it at least as positively denied by the *Remarker*.

The *Craftsman* said, " that the Mercy of the late King was extended to the Gentleman, we speak of, unask'd and unearn'd." That it was unearn'd, the *Remarker* thinks probable; and in thinking so he gives the Lye to all his Fellow-Scribblers, who have so often affirmed the contrary. That it was unask'd, he says, is a downright Falshood. He hath the *Journal-Book of the House of Commons* before him; and there he finds, " that the House was acquainted, by his late Majesty's Command, in April 1725, that *this Gentleman* had, about seven Years before, made his humble Application and Submission, &c. which his Majesty so far accepted, as to give Encouragement to hope for some future Mark of his Majesty's Favour and Goodness."

— In this he exults; but here again the Effrontery and Falshood, which he charges on others, will recoil on himself. Who drew this ministerial Message I know not; nor how far the Style of it may be necessary, according to Forms usual on such Occasions; but the *Remarker* might have known, if he had consulted even his Patrons, that his Majesty's Mercy had been extended to *this Gentleman* two Years before the seven there mentioned; and that this Mercy did not consist in Encouragement to hope for some future Mark of his Majesty's Favour and Goodness, but in a gracious and absolute Promise of his Favour in the full Extent, which the Circumstances of that Gentleman required. I may be the more bold in affirming this Fact, because the noble Lord, who delivered the Message I quote, is still alive, as some other Persons are, to whom his late Majesty was pleas'd to own, that this Message had been delivered by his Order, and to express his gracious Intentions conformable to it—— But to proceed.

It appears most undeniably, that of the three Heads, on which the *Craftsman* gave, and the *Remarker* accepted, the Challenge, the *Remarker* hath shewn himself unable to prove the first by any true Facts, and hath scandalously attempted to do it by false

ones ; that he hath given up the *second* ; and that he hath not so much as attempted to prove the *third*.

Let me ask now, shall Men, thus plainly convicted of Calumny on Accusations brought so often and charged so peremptorily by them expect Belief, when they endeavour to defame in any other Case ? Shall they, who are convicted of accusing falsely in Cases, which are plain in their Nature, where no Proof can be wanting, and where no Pretence can be alledged for not producing it, expect that the Publick should condemn any Man, and especially a Man, who is under so many Circumstances of Disadvantage, peculiar to his singular and unexampled Situation, because they affirm him guilty in Cases, which are intricate in their Nature, and where Reasons of Honour, of Prudence, and of Decency may all concur to impose Silence ? How often have the *noble Pair* defended themselves, and been defended by others, on this Principle ; that no Man ought to charge another, unless he is able and ready to prove the Charge ? How often have they call'd for Proof on this Principle, and triumph'd that it was not immediately brought ? Now, although this Defence may not be sufficient in every Case, where Matters of *present Transaction* are concern'd, and where the *Persons attacked* are in actual Possession of the greatest Power ; yet surely it may be thought, with Reason, to be a sufficient Defence, when Matters long ago transacted, and long ago censured too, are concern'd ; when the *Persons*, who attack, are in actual Possession of the greatest Power ; and the *Person*, who is attacked, hath none of those offensive, or defensive Weapons at his Command, which Power furnishes in so abundant a Manner.

The *Remarker* thinks that no *Reasons of Honour, Prudence, or Decency* ought to shut the Mouth of Innocence ; that *Shame and Guilt alone* are silent in the *Day of Enquiry*—— When this *Day of Enquiry* is to come, and who is to be the Subject of it, I know not ; but let him learn that there are many Cases, wherein it is not honest, and many others may occur wherein it is not prudent, to say all that might be said either in Defence, or in Excuse ; that is, when the Defence or Excuse of our selves must affect others,

others, not concern'd in the Debate. In such Cases, the most innocent will rather bear the Imputation of imaginary Crimes, by keeping Silence, than be guilty of a real Crime, by breaking it; and to carry this as far as it can be carry'd, Instances might be produc'd of Men, who have dyed, rather than accuse others, whose Blood was thirsted after more than theirs.

Much hath been said, and great Complaints have been made, of the *Torture*, as it is called in *this Libel*, given to *another Gentleman's* Actions. If, by this, be meant ransacking into all the private and publick Passages of his Life, and wresting every one into a Crime; far be it from me to approve, in his Case, what I abhor *this Libeller* for doing in the Case of another. But is it really so? Have we seen Accusations of *Treachery* and *Ingratitude* towards several, who are dead, and towards any who are living insisted upon, in the former Case? Has it been reproached to the *Patrons of the Remarker*, that they worm'd out of Power a Person, to whom they were nearly allied, and ought to have been firmly attached by Gratitude and Friendship? and yet is that a Subject, which affords nothing to be said? Are there no Circumstances, which might be aggravated at least? Are there no strong Colours, which might be laid? Even I should not be at a Loss to do it, if I thought it fair to do it; if I thought it honest to push any Man to Silence, of which I might take a seeming Advantage, or to a Necessity of justifying or excusing himself by saying what, supposing him innocent, he ought not to say. Are there no Facts relating to the former Transactions of great Importance not commonly known, and yet not absolutely Secrets, which remain still unmentioned? — In short, is it not apparent that there are Men, who accuse, indeed, when the immediate Subject of Debate leads, or provokes them necessarily and unwillingly to it, whilst there are others, who wait for no such Necessity, but accuse meerly to defame.

It would be tedious, not difficult, to go thro' this whole Investive; to deny with Truth many Things, which are falsely affirmed; and, by giving a just Turn to others, to set them in a very different Light

from that wherein the *Author* exposes them to publick View ; to explain what he perplexes ; to distinguish what he confounds. But I shall not take this Task upon me, for the Reasons I have given, and for others, which I am going to give.

As to the Conduct, which the *Person*, against whom such Torrents of Ribaldry are poured forth, held towards those who were at the Head of Affairs, whilst he was in Business, I shall only add to what hath been said already, what no Man of Candour will deny ; that the Heat and Animosity, which perpetual Contests and frequent Turns of Party raise, have carried many (perhaps, the Person who is blam'd, perhaps the Persons who blame him) to do, what in any other Situation, or Temper of Mind, They would carefully avoid ; in a Word, that the just Man hath been, on such Occasions, sometimes unjust ; the good natur'd Man ill-natur'd ; and the friendly Man unfriendly. Few there are, I fear, who could with a safe Conscience take up the first Stone upon such a Trial. Few there are, who are blameless. But here is the Difference. The just, the good-natur'd, the friendly Man returns to the Character, out of which he started. The unjust, the ill-natur'd, the unfriendly Man persists. The first reflects with Sorrow on what the last reflects with Triumph ; and whilst one wishes undone what the Heat of *Party* carried him to do, the other is glad of the Excuse of *Party*, such as it is, to indulge the Viciousness of his own Nature, and to repeat unjust, ill-natur'd and unfriendly Actions to the *living*, and even to the *dead*.

There is an Example before us, which may serve to illustrate what I have said. — Great Advantage is taken of a *Memorial* sent to the late Queen, by the late Earl of *Oxford*, wherein many hard Reflections are made upon others ; but the hardest of all on the Person here refer'd to. He is painted in the worst Colours, and accused to the *Queen* of the greatest Faults. Should I descend into the Particulars, I might shew that the Accusations were groundless, and point out, perhaps, the unjust Causes of Suspicions, which were taken, as well as the Motives to the writing that *Memorial*, which I wish had never been written for a Reason very different from that, which

which the *Remarker* would be ready assign. But shall not descend into any such Particulars, nor give a double Advantage to the *Malicious*, who would be just as well pleased to have any Handle given them by the *living* of inveighing against the *dead*, as they are ready to seize, on every Occasion, that, which was given them, so many years ago, by one who is now *dead*, of inveighing against the *living*.

The *Persons*, who had the Honour to serve the *late Queen*, in the last Period of her Life, have been these twenty Years the Subjects of great Clamour. If the Differences, which happened amongst them so long ago, gave, in some Measure, as I apprehend that they did, both Occasion and Force to this Clamour, it would be strange Conduct, indeed, in those of them, who remain *alive*, and in the *Relations* and *Friends* of those of them, who are *dead*, to preserve this Spirit of Difference, and to assist in reviving this Clamour.

The Day will come, when *Authentick History* will relate the Passages of those Times, without Regard to the partial Views of any Party, or the particular Defence of any Man. 'Till this Day does come, every one must decide, or suspend his Judgment, as he sees Reason to do, and they, who may suffer by these Judgments, must bear it with that Temper and Respect, which is due from every private Man to publick Censures; nay, even to publick Prejudices.

But what hath all this to do with the Characters and Conduct of the *noble Pair*? Suppose the Men in Power, two Reigns ago, to have been *Angels of Darknes*; will it follow that the *two honourable Patrons of the Remarker* are *Angels of Light*? What then is the Meaning of so great a Clamour, affectedly rais'd on so slender an Occasion as the *Craftsman* of the 22d of May gave; wherein little was said, and that little with much Moderation after much Provocation? Why are so many Pens employed, and so great Pains taken, to divert the Attention of the Publick from the present to past Transactions; from national Considerations to personal Altercations?—The Reason is obvious; and no other Reason in Nature can be assigned. The *noble Pair* have been hard push'd, on their Management of *publick Affairs*, both
at

at home and abroad. Not only their *Errors* have been pointed out; gross, palpable Errors; but a long Series of Error; a whole System of cool, deliberate, conducted, defended, expensive Errors, hath been laid open to publick View. What I believe never to have happened before, hath happened on these Occasions. The *noble Pair* have been admonished in Time, and shewn the Precipice, into which, whoever led, they were both falling. The Consequences of their Measures have been foretold as early as possible, and even whilst the Causes were laying. Surely this Conduct, on the Part of their *Adversaries*, favours more of *publick Spirit* than of *private Resentment*; and yet, when they have taken Advantage of it, they have stopt short and triumph'd in their Escape, as they did in the Case of the *Irish Recruits*. These very Admonitions, which gave them Time and Opportunity to do so, have been modestly attributed to *private Resentment* alone; though nothing can be more manifest than this; that *private Resentment* would have found its Account better in Silence; would have preferr'd *Accusations* to *Admonitions*, and would have waited longer to have struck more home.

Sometimes, instead of stopping short, they have gone on, answering for and being answered for, till the *Events* have justify'd the *Predictions*; till the Inconveniencies, Disadvantages and Difficulties, against which the *noble Pair* had been warn'd in vain, have followed and increased upon them; till even their Apologists have been forced to allow some Errors, and till they themselves have confess'd their *boasted System* to be wrong, by changing it, and boasting of the Change. Even after all this, they have complained of Clamour; and they still complain, as if there had never been the least Occasion for it given by them. — How their new *Schemes* are plann'd, and how they will be pursued; whether these able Men have fail'd hitherto, because they set out on *mistaken Principles of Policy*, whether they have fail'd for want of Skill to conduct the rightest, we shall soon see.

But these are not the only Circumstances, which have borne, and still bear hard upon them. — In the Course

Course of these and other Disputes, it seems to have been plainly and fully proved, that such Principles have been established, and such Doctrines have been taught by the *ministerial Writers*, as tend manifestly to destroy the *Freedom of the British Government*. Such are the Dependency (I mean the corrupt Dependency) of Parliaments on the Crown ; the Necessity of standing Armies, notwithstanding the Danger of them to *Liberty* ; and some *other Points*, which I need not recapitulate. It is sufficiently known how much, and with how much Reason, the far greater Part of Mankind have been alarmed at these Attempts ; which, if they succeed, must hurt not only the inferior and temporary Interests, but the greatest and most permanent, political Interests, which a *Briton* can have at Heart ; that of the *Constitution of this Government*.

As these Things have been objected strongly on one Side, so Endeavours have been used on the other, to disguise and to palliate them, or to evade the Consequences drawn from them. But these Endeavours have not succeeded. How, indeed, should they succeed? As well might those, who make them, expect to persuade Mankind that *Slavery and Beggary* are preferable to *Liberty and Wealth*, as to make the World believe that these Blessings, can be preserved to *Britain* by the very Means, by which they have been lost in so many other free Countries.

Since this therefore cannot be imposed ; since the Minds of Men cannot be convinced of such Absurdities, they must be diverted, if possible, from the Subjects. A new Cry is therefore raised, or an old one rather is revived. Disputes, which inflamed the Minds of Men, whilst the Affairs they relate to were transacting, and the Conflict of *Parties* was the most fierce, are renewed at a Time, when they can be of no Benefit to the Publick, and when the same Motives of *Party* subsist no longer. One Man, in particular, is made the Subject of new Invektive. Nothing, which Malice can suggest, and ill Nature and ill Manners utter, is omitted to render his *Person* odious, and to represent his *Design* as dangerous. In the same Breath, we are told that this odious, this dangerous Man is endeavouring to come into Power once more. He stands again a *Candidate*
for

for *Grace and Trust*. " He would again Administer the Publick, abandon its Allies, and sacrifice its Honour. Nothing will satisfy him but the Power, which he once abused and would again abuse; the Trusts, which he once betrayed." These are represented, with equal Modesty and Fairness, to be his Requests; and the *Hero of the Remarker*, that is, the *Remarker's Paymaster*, who administers the Publick so righteously; who never abandon'd its Allies; neither the *Emperor* nor *France*; who never sacrificed its Honour to one, nor its Interest to both; who never abused his Power, nor betrayed his Trust, through Ambition, through Pride, through private Interest, or private Pique; this Person is applauded for his Opposition to such Requests, for his *just and fatal Discernment*.

What *Fatality* there may be in his *Discernment*, I know not; but surely there is a *Fatality*, which attends those, who indulge themselves in speaking and writing, without any Regard to Truth. How could it happen else, that the *Remarker* should so egregiously contradict himself, and destroy in his 40th Page the whole Drift of his 39th? This *bold and rash Scribbler* takes upon him to marshal and characterize insolently the *Friends of the Man* he rails at. If I was not of that Number myself, I should probably say more on the Subject. This however I am under an Obligation to say, that the *Friends of this Gentleman* must be such to his *Person*. They cannot be so to his *Power*. That he takes it as the greatest Compliment, which can be made him, to have a Sympathy of Nature and Conformity of Principles and Designs with them, attributed to him; that he thinks their Friendship an Honour to him, such an Honour as the warmest of his Enemies have Cause to envy, and do envy; such an Honour as the highest of his Enemies would be heartily proud to obtain, and have not been able to obtain.

The *Friends* now of *this Gentleman*, whom he is sometimes said to lead, and who are sometimes said to employ him as their Tool, just as it suits the present Purpose of Scandal to say; these very *Friends*, it seems, the very Men who defend him, would never raise him above his present low Condition, nor make him

him the Partner of their Success. ——— However they may employ him, the *Remarker* and his Patrons know how they mean to reward him. ——— Since this is the Case, since they know it to be so; for what Reason, in the Name of Wonder, is all this Bustle made about so insignificant a Tool? ———

Why so many Endeavours to raise a Jealousy, and give an Alarm, as if this Man was aiming again at Power? ——— Why so much Merit ascribed to the *noble Pair*, for keeping him out of it? ——— His own Friends would not raise him to it. ——— How ridiculous then is the Affectation of his Enemies, who value themselves on their Opposition to him?

Let the *noble Pair* stand or fall by their own Merits, or Demerits. I dare answer to them and to the World, upon better Foundations than those of the *Remarker's* laying, that their Continuance in Power will never break the Spirit of this Man, nor their Fall from it excite his Ambition. His Ambition, whatever may have been said or thought about it, hath been long since dead. A Man must be dead himself, who is utterly insensible of all that happens, either to the Publick or to himself; but he, who seeks nothing but *Retreat*, and that Stability of Situation, which is essential to the Quiet of it, hath surely no Ambition. Now that this is the Case, hath been long the Case of the Gentleman, concerning whom I speak, I know to be true, and I affirm boldly. He never had the least, I say more, he never would have had the greatest Obligations to any Country, except his own; and yet so desirous was this Man of Rest and Quiet, that he was contented to enjoy them where Fortune had presented them to him. A little Frankness might have kept him abroad all his Life, without Complaint. Much Art has been employed to confine him at home, and to tease him there. If, forgetting all former Persecution, he resented the last, would he be much to blame?

I am not conscious of having said, in this Paper, a Word against the Truth; and I am sure that I have the same Truth on my Side, when I assert that this Man, whom the *Libeller* represents to be so turbulent, so outrageous, and of such pertinacious Ambition, however he might have been willing former-

ly to have had the Obligation to the *noble Pair* of enjoying, by their Assistance, the full Measure of his late Majesty's intended Goodness, would decline with Scorn, after all that has passed, to be reinstated in his former Situation, at the intolerable Expence of having the least Appearance of an Obligation to them. Neither they, nor their *Advocates*, can be half so solicitous to keep him out of Power, and even out of a State of aspiring after Power, as he is determined against the first, and indifferent about the last.

I am sensible that all this may appear a little improbable to the *Persons* I oppose. It will be hard for them to conceive that the Man, who had once tasted Power, can ever renounce it in earnest. No wonder they should think in this Manner. Those, who find nothing in themselves to rest upon with Satisfaction, must lean on Power; on Riches, or both, and on other external Objects. Nay, these, who have of the two Vices, Ambition and Avarice, the meanest in the most eminent Degree; and who would be glad to quit their Power, and to retire with their Gains, may be afraid to quit it, because they have abused it. They may be so miserable as to see no Security out of Power, nor any other in it, except that precarious, that temporary Security, which is the last and usual Refuge of *desperate Men*; the continuing the same Violences to maintain, by which they acquired the Power, the keeping up of *Dissentions*, and the *embroiling of Affairs*; those noble Arts, by which they rose.

But there are Men in the World, who know that there is something in Life better than Power, and Riches; and such Men may prefer the *low Condition*, as it is called by the *Remarker*, of one Man, to the high *Condition* of another. There are Men, who see that *Dignity* may be disgraced, and who feel that *Disgrace* may be dignified. Of this Number is the *Gentleman*, whom I have undertaken to defend; who possesses his Soul without Hopes or Fears, and enjoys his *Retreat* without any Desires beyond it. In that *Retreat*, he is obedient to the *Laws*, dutiful to his *Prince*, and true to his *Oaths*. If he fails in these Respects, let him be publicly attacked; let publick Venge-

Vengeance pursue and overtake him; let the *noble Pair* indulge for once their Passions in a just Cause. If they have no Complaints, of this Nature, to make against him, from whence does this particular Animosity proceed? Have they Complaints of any other Kind to make, and of a private Nature? If they have, why is the Publick troubled on this Account?— I hope the *Remarker's Mask is now taken off*; that the true Drift of all this *personal Railing* is enough exposed; and that the Attention of Mankind will be brought back to those more important Subjects, which have been already started, and to those, which every Day may furnish.

After what has been here said, the *Gentleman*, in whose Defence I have appeared, can have no Reason of Honour to enter by himself, or his *Friends*, into these Altercations; and if my Opinion can prevail, should these *Libellers* continue to scold and to call Names, they should be left to do it, without Reproof, or Notice. The Answer now given should stand as a *final Answer to all they have said, and to all they think fit to say hereafter.*



The Speaker's Reprimand to Sir JOHN EYLES, March 31. 1732.

Sir John Eyles,

THE House have come to a Resolution, that you are guilty of a great Irregularity, as a Commissioner and Trustee for Sale of the Forfeited Estates for the Use of the Publick, by empowering Mr. *Samuel Allen*, Secretary of the Commissioners and Trustees for the Sale of the said Estates, to sign your Name, when absent, in order to make up the Number of Commissioners and Trustees required by Act of Parliament, to Matters of Form, in Proceedings under the said Act:

And

And have imposed a Command upon me, which is the only one, I can truly say, that I ever received with any Uneasiness in the Place I now sit; not from any Doubt of the Justice of the Command, nor from any Unwillingness in me to obey an Order of the House; but because you, Sir, are unfortunately the Subject of it, for whom I have always had the greatest personal Regard.

The Offence you are guilty of, having come within the Notice of the House, it was impossible it should escape their Censure, as it had a Reference to a Trust reposed in you; repos'd by Parliament! the highest and most sacred Authority any Subject of this Kingdom can act under! and with a particular Confidence in you, and the others join'd with you, because of the Relation you bore to the Parliament: A Trust of great Importance, and which required great Pains and Attention to it, and for that a very considerable Recompence was assigned to you out of the publick Treasure. The Recompence, Sir, you enjoyed; but the Pains and Attention expected from you, you fail'd in, and illegally delegated your Trust in Instances where a false and fraudulent Use has ben made of it.

But, happy for you, Sir, it appears to the House to have been a Matter rather of evil Example, than evil Intention in you; for which Reason, the Resolutions of the House, on this Occasion, have a Mixture of Justice and Mercy; and as your Offence will always justify the Censure of the House upon you, let it be your Care, Sir, that your future Behaviour always justify the Lenity of the House to you. Let the Justice of the House make you fear, and the Clemency of the House make it a Matter of Sorrow in you to offend again.

This Sense, I persuade my self you have of the Judgment the House have pass'd upon you, which is, that I reprimand you for your said Offence, and I do reprimand you accordingly.

Sir


~~~~~  
*Sir John Eyles's REPLY, after having been reprimanded by the Speaker, Pursuant to the Order of the House of Commons, March 31. 1732.*

S I R,

**I** Am very much ashamed of an Offence that has drawn upon me the Animadversion and Censure of this House; an Offence which, at the Time of committing it, I had scarce any Idea of being subject to blame for. I am now made truly sensible of it, and the strong and lively Colours in which you, Sir, have drawn it, will be to me a lasting Memento of future Caution.

The Judgment the House has passed upon me I endure with a dutiful Submission; and you, Sir, having shewn that Tenderness and Humanity which is agreeable to your Nature, in pronouncing it, and thereby, in some Degree, abated its Rigour, I cannot but express my grateful and sincere Acknowledgment to your self, and also to the House, for their Favour in not carrying this Censure to any further Consequence.

~~~~~  
The SPEAKER's Thanks to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount GAGE, March 31. 1732. Together with his Lordship's Reply.

My Lord GAGE,

THE House have come to an unanimous Resolution, That the Thanks of the House be given to your Lordship, for the great Service you have done the Publick, in detecting the fraudulent

K

lent

lent Sale of certain forfeited Estates of *James* late Earl of *Derwentwater*, and of a forfeited Annuity issuing out of the same, which were vested in Commissioners and Trustees, to be sold for the publick Use.

And the Manner of your Lordship's making this Discovery has shewn your disinterested Regard to the publick Service, as the Effect of it may be greatly to the publick Benefit.

The applying the forfeited Estates to the Use of the Publick, being one of the principal Reasons for making it thereby impossible they should ever be given back to the unfortunate Families they once belonged to, the House of Commons could not, without Uneasiness, think of this pretended Sale, which has thrown into private Hands, no ways allied to the Estate, so large a Share of Profit due to the Publick, with a very low, and almost the bare Appearance only of a Consideration for one Part, and not so much as even *that* for another.

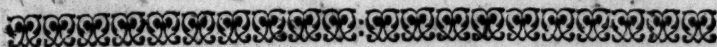
But your Lordship's seasonable Detection of this injurious Transaction will, very likely, produce Justice and Restitution to the Publick; and for this Service your Lordship is now receiving a Reward that, I can answer for your Lordship, you esteem the greatest and most honourable you can acquire, and which, my Lord, will not only remain with you, but will derive a lasting Honour to those who may come after you!

An Honour, my Lord! the House has always been most tender of in the Way, and for the Reason they confer it upon you; and, if I may use the Expression, is a sort of Bounty they have ever been most frugal of granting. Few are the Instances of it; not that publick Services have not frequently been performed, but that the Thanks of the House of Commons are never given for publick Services, but what are the most eminent, such as that which your Lordship has lately done the State.

I am very conscious how imperfectly I have convey'd the Sense of the House to your Lordship; but the having no Time to prepare my self for it, must be my Excuse. I will only add,

That no one could with greater Pleasure obey the Order of the House, on this Occasion, than I
do,

do, which is; to give your Lordship the Thanks of the House for your said Service to the Publick; and I do give your Lordship the Thanks of the House accordingly.



His Lordship's REPLY.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS sudden and unexpected Honour hath put me into so great a Confusion, that I never was more at a Loss for Words to express my self than now — All I can say, Sir, is to assure you and the House, that I had no other View in promoting this Enquiry, than to discharge the Trust my Country has reposed in me, by detecting (as far I was able) a Fraud injurious to the Publick.

And since the House has been pleased to distinguish my poor Service in a manner so far beyond what is deserved, or I could have expected, their Approbation of my Behaviour in this Particular Instance will, I hope, so influence my future Conduct in all others, as may convince them, that I shall make it my constant Endeavour to merit the Honour they have done me on this Occasion.

The Equivalent for Fasting: Or, Consecration-Fee.

Tune of, *King JOHN and the Abbot of Canterbury.*

I'LL tell you a Story, and warrant it true,
Of a Bishop, who never fought more than his due :
You'll say that is strange ! but attend to my Ditty,
This Bishop was Great, as was his Great City !

Derry down, down, &c.

Of late a fine * Church was without any Name,
And his Lordship, who never was call'd, but he came,
Came to Christen the Church, and to consecrate All,
The Pulpit, the Tables, the Pews, and the Wall.

Derry down, &c.

Invited he was by a Vestry Select,
Who to shew the *Good Bishop* ! the greatest Respect,
Provided a Dinner, both noble and grand,
Well knowing that *Priests love the Fat of the Land.*

Derry down, &c.

But to their Surprise, my Lord let them know,
'Twas not a right Manner their Duty to shew ;
Their Banquet, for *Conscience*, he durst not to taste,
On such solemn Occasions his *Rule* was to fast.

Derry down, &c.

This Vestry, like other *Good Churchmen and True*,
Thought sure, for such Service, that something was due,
Nor consider'd his Duty, but wish'd to be told,
Will his Lordship accept a small Present in Gold ?

Derry down, &c.

Old S——n, the Chaplain, cut short the Debate,
And told them, for his Part, a Present in Plate,
Would, in his poor and humble Opinion, look best,
And that from the Butler they'd learn all the rest.

Derry down, &c.

The Butler (as Butlers are wont) chose a Cup,
Too weighty and large for one Hand to lift up:
For this the New Parish was tax'd Fifty Pound,
Which the Bishop (poor Man!) took for Christ'ning the
Ground !

Derry down, &c.

* St. G——ge H——r Sq——re.

From

rom hence we may learn, if a Bishop decline
To taste of your Feast, when you ask him to dine,
What a Bishop expects for refusing a Meal,
The Effects of his Fast a whole Parish will feel.

Derry down, &c.



*Upon the Author's seeing the Pictures of
Osborne, Walsingham, Concanen and
Henley, in a Necessary-House, drawn
upon the Wall.*

HAIL *Cloatho*! Guardian of these Vaults!
How high this noble Work thy Runic exalts!
Say, with what Pleasure we behold these Scenes:
Thy Busts rise, and emulate a Queen's
What tho' a *Newton*, *Locke*, *Clarke*, *Woolaston*,
By Royal Favour live in polished Stone!
Thy breathing Marble shall transmit to Fame
A greater *Osborne*, and a *Walsingham*!
A *Henley* and *Concanen* too we see,
Superior Names! immortaliz'd by thee.
While *C——* and thou such Trophies raise,
Alike your Labours, be alike your Praise.



*A true Copy of a LIST of Fifteen pro-
posed to Inspect the Affairs of the
South-Sea Company, as delivered by
an honest Proprietor.*

DR. *William Wake*, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury
Dr. *William Baker*, Lord Bishop of Norwich
Dr. *Henry Egerton*, Lord Bishop of Hereford
Dr. *William Green*, Lord Bishop of Ely
Dr. *John Potter*, Lord Bishop of Oxford
Dr. *Richard Willis*, Lord Bishop of Winchester
The Reverend Dr. *Charles Fleetwood*
The Reverend Dr. *Henry Godolphin*
The Reverend Dr. *Walter Goodfellow*
The Reverend Mr. *Amy Lullin*

The

The Reverend Mr. *Thomas Reade*

The Reverend Mr. *Henry Rider*

The Reverend Mr. *George Seidel*

Sir *John Gonson*

Jacob Fernandes Nunes.

SIX *Bishops*, Seven *Doctors*, One *Justice*, One *Jew*,
 All qualify'd, *righteous*, upright Men and true;
 Are humbly propos'd to be the *Inspectors*
 Of the doubtful Affairs of the *South-Sea Directors*:
 For *Bishops*, who doubts but they are all good,
 And *Doctors*, for certain, are of as true *Blood*,
 For G--son's great *Justice* you need not to doubt,
 A Thousand poor Devils would gladly come out
 From *Newgate* and *Bridewell* to prove it all true
 For G--son's as *honest* almost as a *Jew*:
 And *Jewish Uprightness* there's none can gainsay,
 They ne'er take a *Bribe*, nor ever *betray*,
 These things being prov'd, 'tis hop'd you will chuse 'em,
 For the Devil is in you, if you can refuse 'em:
 From such a *Committee*, *Stockholders*, no doubt,
 May live to see wonderful things brought about.
 All *honest Men* wish, and, perhaps, not in vain,
 To see a *Strong Halter* succeed a *Gold Chain*.

The SQUIRE and the CARDINAL.

I'LL tell you a Story, a Story so merry,
 Of a wise *Norfolk Squire* and *Cardinal Fleury*:
 (I mean not to sing of this *Cardinal's* Might.)
 How he led in a String both the *Squire* and the *Knight*.
Derry down, down, hey derry down.

II.

But how he and the *Pope* a Project did forge,
 To get tall *Irishmen* to fight with King *GEORGE*;
 An Army to make for the *Popish Pretender*,
 Against the good King, of our Faith the Defender.

Derry Down.

III.

To this *Cardinal* high, with his *Bonnet* so red,
 Quoth *H-----ce*, the *Squire*, polite and well bred,
 Adieu, my Good Lord, is there aught I can do,
 At *England's* fair Court, for your King or for you?

Derry Down.

VI.

IV.

Dear Friend, said the Priest, procure us, with Ease,
Some tall *Irishmen*, for *Dunkirk's* Jettees:
If you will but allow us a Man for each Stone,
How rarely we'll settle your King on his Throne!

Derry Down.

V.

When *H——ce* came Home, ere he pull'd off his Boots,
He ask'd our good King for these *Irish* Recruits;
To this Cardinal (Liege) if we are not civil,
Both my Brother and I must go to the D——l.

Derry Down.

VI.

Oh! *H——ce*, of late thou art turn'd a meer Fool,
The *French* shall not run my Men nor my Wool;
If this silly Request I should grant unto thee,
Thy Head would be taken from thy Body.

Derry Down.

VII.

The Recruits which the *French* for *Dunkirk* demand,
For all that they yet have pull'd down on that Strand,
Ere many Years pass may attempt to come over,
As they try'd once before from *Dunkirk* to *Dover*.

Derry Down.

VIII.

Ten Thousand like them, in Battle Array,
Tho' I fear not myself, my good People may;
Then the King, who no more of this Matter would hear,
Sent *H——ce* away with a Flea in his Ear.

Derry Down.

*The Statesman's FALL: Or, Sir BOB
in the Dust. A new Hunting Song
from Windsor.*

Tune of, *To all ye Ladies now at Land.*

I.

YE Hunters all at *Hampton-Court*,
And eke at *Windsor* too,
Who chase the Stag with manly Sport,
My Song is meant for you:

And

And fraught with Cautions worth your Care,
Tho' set to no *Italian Air*.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

II.

A Truth my Ditty shall declare,
Fit Warning for ye All;
How Arrogance in full Career,
Hath often met a Fall.

Then ride not, *Courtiere*, quite so fast,
Left, like Sir *BOB*,—you trip at last.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

III.

The Tale I tell is of a K—t,
Whom all of ye must know,
Who, tho' a clumsy, toothless Wight,
Is yet a Jocky Beau.
In Body gross, of Saffron Hue,
Deck'd forth in Green, with Ribband Blue.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

IV.

His Person, Parts, and Wit proclaim
Him of *La Mancha's* Breed,
With all of *Sancho* in his Frame,
And *Quixot* in his Head.
From native Bronze, and starch'd Grimace,
Surnam'd the Knight of *Rueful Face*.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

V.

When on his Steed so stately set,
And his Attendants by,
His Vanity out-run his Wit,
To see himself so high:
He thought he ne'er could go too far,
So, *Jebu-like*, rode Whip and Spur.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

VI.

His Mare, of *Englisk* Mettle bold,
Uneasy at his Weight,
Found, as he on her Main laid hold,
How awkwardly he sat:
Unus'd at such a Rate to go,
She kick'd—and laid her Rider low.

With a fa, la la la, &c;

VII.

In piteous Plight Sir Knight was found,
Whom Fear and Hurt did run;
While *Sorrel* frisk'd and caper'd round,
As proud of what she'd done;

Some

Some thought (for I the Truth must speak)
He'd broke his Bones——most wish'd his Neck;

With a fa, la la la, &c.

VIII.

But tho' their pious Hopes were vain!
Yet so much hurt was he,
That all the *Esculapian* Train
In Judgment did agree,
His Case, when rightly understood,
Demanded *proper Loss of Blood*.

With a fa, la la la, &c.

IX.

Now to my Song you've lent an Ear,
Pray give it Credit due;
Since on my Honour I aver,
That all I've said is true:
Tho' some who're prone to *Allagory*,
Would archly thus unfold my Story.

With a fa, la la la, &c.

X.

They'd say, that by the Knight is meant,
One at the H-lm, who steers,
Who eke the Mare of G-ver-m-t
Has switch'd these many Years:
Yet thick in Skull, in Judgment *sidle*,
He scarce knows how to sit his Saddle.

With a fa, la la la, &c.

XI.

With Thought profound they say likewise,
That they the Secret spy,
How, in a Hunting quaint Disguise,
A P——t doth lie:
Another Riddle this unlocks,
That by the Stag——is meant a *Fox*.

With a fa, la la la, &c.

XII.

As to the Fall, with equal Skill,
They've found a new Preference;
They own the Word is proper still,
But in another Sense:
For *Bleeding*——that, say they, is clear,
It means the *Axe* and *Jugular*.

With a fa, la la la, &c.



To the Praise and Glory of R. W.

I.

ALL Laud and Praise to *W*———le be,
Both now and evermore;
For him we know our *POLE* at Sea,
Our *Brazen WALL* a-Shore,

II.

By him our Merchants safely steer,
Nor dread the *Spaniards* Robbing;
At Sea, no *Pirates* can they fear,
At Home, no *Tricks* in Jobbing.

III.

Cry, *Britons*, then! cry out amain!
Sing, clap your Hands and dance:
'Tis *W*———le who has humbl'd *Spain*,
And made a Fool of *France*.

IV.

Be lavish eke in *W*———le's Praise,
Ye rugged Sons of War;
Since he did your *Debentures* raise,
Then paid himself at *Par*.

V.

These Blessings had our Nation lost,
Could *Tories* had their Way;
Or had they rais'd him to a *POST*,
When as he dealt in *HAY*.

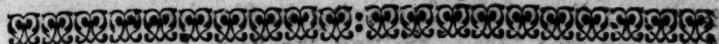
VI.

How shou'd we then rejoice and sing,
He sav'd his destin'd Neck,
Which now, instead of Hempen String,
(A) *Ribbon Blue* doth deck.

VII.

VII.

May he enjoy the *PEACE* he gave;
 And roll, like us, in Wealth;
 Late may he *fill* the yawning Grave,
 But die in *Perfect Health*.



On the VOTE *for the* SALT-TAX.

WHEN with politick Sneer, and with florid Ex-
 pression,
 The Knight had harangu'd in the Cause of Op-
 pression,
 With Hearts swell'd with Joy, all his Sycophants smil'd,
 In hopes that his Cant had the Members beguil'd :
 At last, quoth *Will Trusty*, Sir *Blue*, by your Favour,
 Tho' your Subject was *Salt*, your Speech has no *Savour* :
 In spite of your Art, we your Plot understand,
 And that next Year you'll load both our Salt and our Land,
 So Sharpers, at Play, suffer Bubbles to win,
 Till pleas'd with their Luck, they are deeper drawn in ;
 And ruin'd at length, by the Help of false Tools,
 Are laugh'd at, at once, both for Beggars and Fools.



Confondant du passé le léger souvenir,
 Ébloüi du présent, sans percer l'avenir ;
 Dans l' art de gouverner decrepit, & Novice,
 Punissant la Vertu, recompensant le Vice.
 Malgré sa Tête altière accablé de son rang,
 Fourbe dans le Petit, & Dupe dans le Grand.
 On connoit à ces traits, même sans qu'on le nomme,
 Le MAÎTRE de la France, & le VALET de Rome.

Imi-

Imitated in *English*.

WITH Favour and Fortune fastidiously blest,
He's loud in his Laugh, and he's coarse in his Jest;
Of Favour and Fortune unmerited vain;

A Sharper in Trifles, a Dupe in the Main.

Atchieving of nothing, still promising Wonders,

By dint of Experience improving in Blunders.

Oppressing true Merit, exalting the Base,

And selling his Country to purchase a Peace.

A Jobber of Stocks, by retailing false News,

A Prater at Court, in the Stile of the Stews.

Of Virtue and Worth, by Profession, a Giber,

Of Juries and Senates, the Bully and Briber.

Tho' I name not the Wretch, you know who I mean;

'Tis the Cur-Dog of *Britain*, and Spaniel of *Spain*.

6 MA 50

F I N I S.

